A HISTORY OF THE INDIAN WARS

BY

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EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

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INTRODUCTION

In the rare little volume here reprinted an English sailor narrates his adventures in the East Indies between the years 1715 and 1723. During that period (broken though it was by a return for a time to England) he played many parts: sailor on board three East Indiamen in succession: mate in a 'country' vessel (i.e. one trading in the East Indies only): officer in the armed naval forces of the Company at Bombay: seaman and (according to his own account) petty officer in a royal navy ship: captain of artillery in a Mughal army operating in Gujarāt. His other experiences were equally varied. Though he served chiefly on the western coast of India, he visited also Muskat, the Gulf of Aden, Madras, Calcutta, Mauritius, Réunion, Madagascar, and the Comoros, besides the places touched at during the voyages out and home. He took part in several fights with the Marāthas and other Indians, both on sea and land, and some of his most stirring pages describe the unsuccessful assaults that were made upon the strongholds of Angria. Of Commodore Mathews's expedition to Madagascar in search of the European pirates who were making havoc of Eastern trade he furnishes a full account, with some curious particulars concerning the ex-pirates who had settled down in that island. His service as a Mughal gunner provides what is in some respects the most interesting chapter in the book; while we are also given many glimpses of life at Bombay and other places on the west coast, including the earliest mention of cricket being played in India.

All this is admirably told and makes lively reading. Perhaps most readers will be content to take the volume in its obvious aspect of a first-rate story of adventure, and will ask no more from the editor than the explanation of a few unfamiliar terms or place-names. There is, however, another side to the

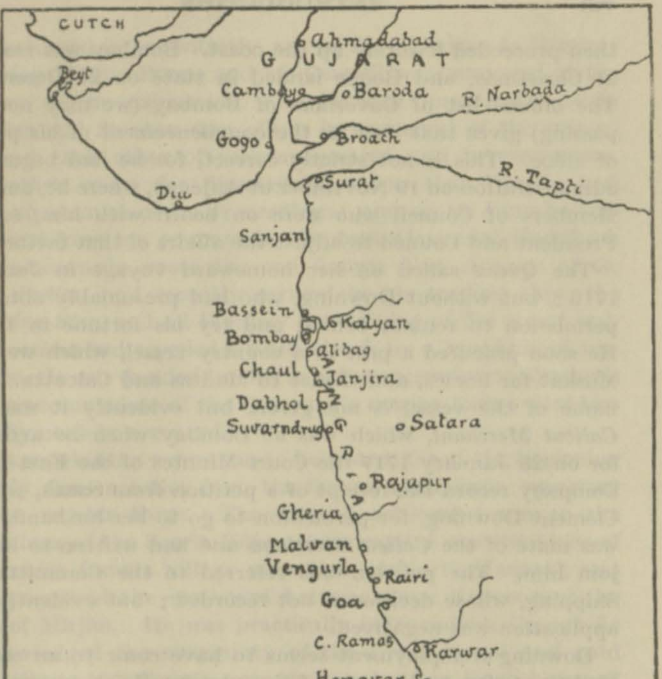
matter. In his preface the publisher stresses the fact that the narrative is the authentic record of an eye-witness—not one of those 'fictitious pieces . . . with sham names prefix'd' by which 'the world has been of late very much imposed on'[1]; while Downing himself insists that he has written 'the plain truth in all respects'. In the scarcity of information about the events here related it becomes a matter of importance to ascertain how far these claims can be conceded. To do this, and in addition to give such facts as can be gleaned concerning our author's personal history, is the object of the following pages.

Downing is reticent in his references to himself, and nowhere in his pages do we find any allusion to his career prior to his going to India; we must therefore be content with his publisher's assurance that he was 'bred to the sea'. No information is forthcoming about his parentage and upbringing; and the earliest fact on record concerning him is his departure from England in April 1715 as a member of the crew of the East India Company's trading ship *Queen*. That vessel had as consort the *Stanhope*, which was carrying out to his post Charles Boone, the newly appointed President and Governor of Bombay.[2] The experiment of placing all the Indian settlements under a 'General'—in imitation of the Dutch system—had proved a failure, and the Directors had resolved to revert to the plan of keeping the administration of the three groups of factories distinct. This was accompanied by the dismissal of the existing General, William Aislabie, with whose proceedings the Directors were profoundly dissatisfied; and on 16 March 1715 Boone was appointed to be the first President and Governor of Bombay.

The two vessels lost company a week after leaving the Cape of Good Hope; and, as the captain of the *Queen* had been charged not to make Bombay before the *Stanhope*, he lingered at Cochin and Calicut until that vessel came in. The two

[1] Was he thinking of *The Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, Mariner. . . . Written by Himself*, which had already gone through seven or eight editions?

[2] For Boone's personal history see my article in the *Journal of Indian History*, May 1923.



WEST COAST OF INDIA

then proceeded leisurely up the coast. Bombay was reached at Christmas, and Boone landed in state on 26 December. The official list of Governors of Bombay (we may note in passing) gives that date as the commencement of his period of office. This is not strictly correct, for he had begun his administration on 19 November at Anjengo, where he, and the Members of Council who were on board with him, sat as President and Council to adjust the affairs of that factory.

The *Queen* sailed on her homeward voyage in January 1716; but without Downing, who had presumably obtained permission to remain behind and try his fortune in India. He soon procured a post in a country vessel, which went to Muskat for horses, and thence to Madras and Calcutta. The name of the vessel is not given, but evidently it was the *Calicut Merchant*, which was at Bombay when he arrived; for on 25 January 1717 the Court Minutes of the East India Company record the receipt of a petition from Sarah, wife of Clement Downing, for permission to go to her husband, who was mate of the *Calicut Merchant* and had written to her to join him. The petition was referred to the Committee of Shipping, whose decision is not recorded; but evidently the application was negatived.

Downing's employment seems to have come to an end at Madras, owing to the sale of the vessel. He, however, proceeded to Calcutta, either in her or in the *Stanhope*, which called at Fort St. George (on her way to Bengal) in August 1716. From Calcutta he returned to Bombay in the *Stanhope* as a passenger, arriving 24 December 1716. He then applied for employment in the local marine service, and (as he tells us) received a commission [1] as second lieutenant in the *Fame*, then at Kārwār. In order to take up his post, he sailed for that port in the *Revenge* on 12 March 1717. On the way down the coast the *Revenge* met Commodore Weekes, by whose orders she joined his squadron and co-operated in an attack upon a stronghold which, for reasons given on p. 16, we take to have been Rairi. The enterprise failed, and Weekes's fleet proceeded to Kārwār. Downing duly joined the *Fame*

[1] According to the Bombay Consultations his commission was not signed until 9 August 1717.

and returned in her with the rest of the squadron to Bombay (19 May 1717). Boone and his Council were annoyed at the failure of the expedition, and listened impatiently while Weekes and Stanton (the officer in command of the troops) accused each other of mismanagement and lukewarmness. A further cause for dissatisfaction was that Weekes had kept no account of his proceedings ; and on 10 June he was removed from his command. Captain Alexander Hamilton, who afterwards wrote the well-known *New Account of the East Indies,* had recently arrived in his trading ship, the *Morning Star*, and all Bombay was talking of the smart way in which he had repelled a brisk attack by a squadron of sea-rovers. It was decided to offer him the succession to Weekes's post as commodore of the Company's marine force ; and this employment he accepted.

His capabilities were soon to be tested, for at the beginning of July came a letter from the factors at Kārwār, reporting serious trouble there. The English settlement was in the dominions of the Sonda Rāja, whose capital was the place of that name (now a village near Sirsi, in North Kanara), and who possessed the sea-board between Cape Ramas and the port of Mīrjān. He was practically independent, though he acknowledged the suzerainty of the Great Mogul and paid him tribute. A dispute over the wreck of an English-owned country ship had led to the besieging of the factory by the Rāja's troops. The call for help reached Bombay in the midst of the south-west monsoon, and the immediate dispatch of ships and troops was impossible. In response to a further and more urgent appeal, received a month later, some vessels were sent down the coast towards the end of August with a detachment of soldiers ; and further reinforcements sailed on 8 September under the command of Commodore Hamilton. Downing had been posted to one of these vessels (the *Thomas*), apparently as chief mate.

On arriving in Kārwār Bay, Hamilton found the force previously sent awaiting him. The Kārwār of that day stood on the southern bank of the Kālīnadi River, about 3 miles to the east of the present town ; and direct access had been barred by a chain drawn across the river and by batteries

constructed on the banks.[1] It was necessary, therefore, to effect a landing on the sandy beach which extends from Baitkul Cove to the mouth of the river—an operation rendered difficult by the heavy surf, and hazardous in the face of a numerous enemy ensconced in thick woods running down towards the shore. The attempt was made on 13 September 1717, with disastrous results. Two of the vessels were stranded on the beach, and though the soldiers struggled ashore, their ammunition was rendered useless by the water, and they were quickly overwhelmed by the Rāja's forces.

The news of this repulse, with an appeal for reinforcements, reached Bombay on 8 October, and during the next few weeks ships and men were steadily directed to the scene of action. About the middle of November, after receiving the first reinforcements, a second and equally unsuccessful attempt was made to force a landing and relieve the beleaguered factory. In his *New Account* (vol. i, p. 267) Hamilton tells us that the enemy had constructed some batteries on shore, to deal with which and cover the landing the English turned two prizes into floating batteries and beached them. Supported by the fire of these and of the fleet, a strong force was landed. 'But our fresh water land officers,' says Hamilton, 'were so long a-drawing up their men in a confounded hollow square that the enemy took courage and with horse and foot came running towards our men, firing and wounding some as they marched in their ranks ; which our commandant seeing, pulled off his red coat and vanished. Some other, as valiant captains as he, took example and left their posts ; and then the soldiers followed and threw down their arms. We lost in this skirmish about 250. But our floting batteries would not permit the enemy to pursue far ; nor durst they stay to gather up our

[1] In following these and later operations described by Downing, reference may usefully be made to a work published in 1720, entitled *Observations upon several Voyages to India, Out and Home.* It was written by the Captain Henry Cornwall mentioned on p. 26 of the present volume, and was dedicated to Governor Boone. The contents include sixty-one drawings of harbours, headlands, &c., in various parts of the East Indies, and among these will be found view-plans of Kārwār, Kolāba, and Gheria. I am indebted to Mr. S. C. Hill for drawing my attention to this work.

scattered arms. So about 80 sailers went on the field of battle and brought on board of the commodore about 200 stand of arms, most of them loaded. However, the enemy had some loss too, for we found eleven horses dead and saw many fires along the foot of the hills to burn their dead men in.'

The news of the second defeat was brought to Bombay by the *Britannia* at the beginning of December. It was at once resolved to send back that vessel with reinforcements, and she sailed accordingly on the 4th. On 8 December, however, came the intelligence that the Kārwār factors had come to terms with the Rāja, and to this agreement approval was accorded.[1]

During the negotiations the *Thomas* had been sent to Mangalore to procure rice. Having there laden a second vessel as well, Capt. Holt put Downing in charge of her, directing him to keep company on the way to Kārwār. However, the *Thomas* outsailed her consort, and the latter reached her destination to find that the fleet had sailed for Bombay. The only course open to Downing was to follow; and after a tedious and anxious voyage of nearly six weeks he had the satisfaction of bringing his craft safely into that harbour.

On returning to Bombay Commodore Hamilton threw up his commission in disgust and resumed his trading operations. Before very long the force he had commanded was called upon for fresh efforts, this time against a far more formidable enemy, namely, Kānhoji Angria. This celebrated individual had risen by his daring and enterprise to the position of admiral of the Marātha fleet (1698), and during the troubles that followed the accession of Rāja Shāhu (the grandson of Sivāji), he had played so bold a part that he had secured a position of virtual independence. For some time the relations between him and the English remained fairly amicable. Disturbing incidents were not wanting, for to the Marāthas ships passing along their coasts were legitimate prey unless hostilities were excluded by express agreement, and even then the commanders and crews

[1] Two accounts of the operations at Kārwār—the one by Commodore Hamilton and his colleagues, the other by the factors at Kārwār—are summarized in the India Office *Abstracts of Bombay Letters*, vol. i, pp. 283, 285.

of Angria's vessels were apt to disregard instructions. Downing gives several instances of English vessels being attacked ; but these affairs were either passed over or made the subject of remonstrance merely. The Bombay authorities were very averse from quarrelling with so redoubtable a foe, though they watched with apprehension his growing strength ; while he on his side showed little desire for an actual breach. The capture of two small English vessels in November 1712 threatened for a time to bring about a rupture. Kānhoji, however, on a demand being addressed to him for the release of the prisoners, complied without demur, at the same time promising to restore the prizes and their contents. After some negotiations an agreement was reached in February 1713, by which he undertook not to meddle with any vessels belonging either to the English or to merchants living under their protection, and not to hinder any ship from entering or leaving the harbour of Bombay ; and he further promised to permit English trade in his ports, subject to the payment of the usual dues. On their side the Bombay Council engaged to prevent any abuse of the English flag by traders of other nationalities, and to allow Kānhoji's vessels to use their ports, on payment of the regular customs duties. He endeavoured to secure in addition a pledge of English assistance 'on any urgent occasion' ; but the Council would not say more than that they would comply 'as wee think fitt'.

Kānhoji's behaviour was doubtless due to the fact that not only was he on bad terms with the Portuguese but he was absorbed in the struggle that was going on for the Marātha throne. In this civil war he had taken sides with those who were opposing Rāja Shāhu, and on behalf of that chieftain he was assailed by an army headed by the Peshwa. Kānhoji defeated this force and captured its leader ; after which, flushed with victory, he threatened to march on Sātāra, the capital. The Rāja was in no condition to oppose him, and negotiations were opened which resulted in an accommodation (1713). Kānhoji agreed to transfer his support to Shāhu, to release the Peshwa, and to surrender most of the territory he had conquered. In return he was confirmed in the control of the coastal district ; and ten fortified places, including Khānderi,

Kolāba, Suvarndrug, and Vijayadrug (Gheria), with sixteen others of less importance, were made over to him ; while his position as admiral of the Marātha naval forces was also confirmed. Some of the places ceded had been long in the possession of the Sīdi of Janjīra, who objected to surrender them ; but his territories were promptly invaded and he was forced to submit. Thus Kānhoji became master of practically the whole coast from Bombay harbour to Mālvan, with a considerable tract stretching inland. In addition, he was on friendly terms with the Khem Sāvants on his southern border and he had behind him the support of the Sātāra Rāja. His position being thus strengthened, the restless chieftain began to think that his bargain with the English was rather one-sided, and that it would pay him better to plunder their ships or at least to force them to buy passes from him to avoid interference. For a time, however, he held his hand and refrained from doing anything likely to cause a rupture.

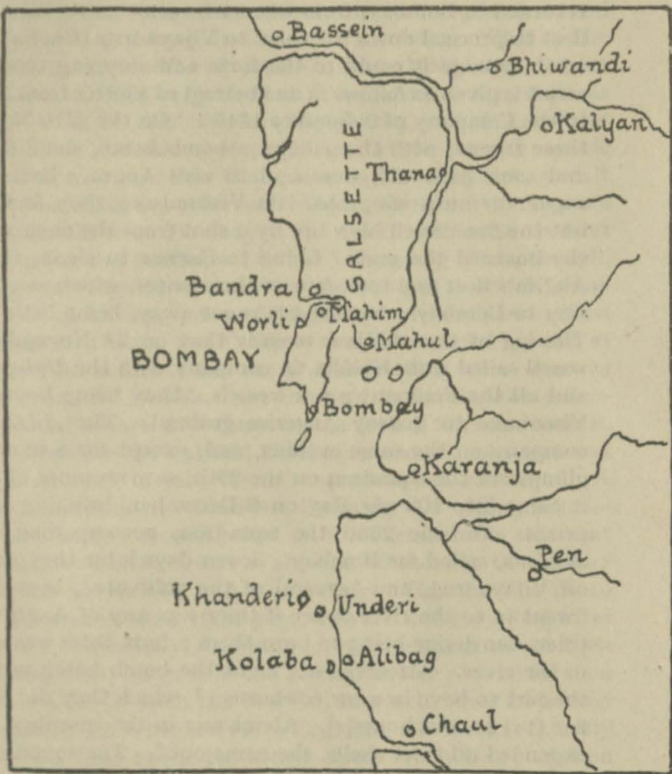
Thus matters stood at the time of Boone's arrival upon the scene at the end of 1715. Thereupon 'Angria sent the Governour some complemental letters ; then sent others complaining of ill usage in return of the good offices he had done, and boasted of his successes. The Governour answerd [that] if he kept the articles of the treaty, it would be well : if he had just cause to complain, it should be remedy'd . . . that the English never boasted of their performances, but let their actions do it' In reporting this to the Company (9 March 1716), Boone added that some outstanding claims would be pressed upon Kānhoji when the English were 'in a good posture to oppose him ; till then keep fair, but must not be too supple' (*Abstracts of Bombay Letters*, vol. i, p. 238).

The situation was not improved by the ill-success of the expedition to Kārwār, which demonstrated that the forces of the English were not so formidable as had been thought ; while there were always grounds for a quarrel in the suspicion that their flag was being used to shield vessels of alien ownership. In consequence, Kānhoji's officers seized first the *Success* and then the *Robert*, both country ships, and difficulties were made about releasing them. To the President's remon-

strances Kānhoji replied that 'if the English will freight on countrey shipping, they must expect that he will make prize of them'. Early in March 1718 it was learnt that the *Otter* from Bengal had been captured, and the Englishmen on board had been treated with barbarous cruelty. Boone was absent at the time, having gone to Surat; but on his return he (5 April) obtained the consent of his Council to retaliate by instructing their armed vessels to capture or destroy any of Kānhoji's ships they might meet. Four days later came a letter from that chieftain,[1] complaining that the cargo of an Alībāg ship had been seized at Māhīm, and intimating that, since the English had thus broken the peace, none of their vessels would be allowed to use his rivers, while in future 'what God gives, I shall take'. To this Boone replied firmly, declaring that the ship in question belonged to Bombay, that he was ready to negotiate over any differences, and that, while he would regret a rupture, yet, if Kānhoji was determined to resort to arms, 'then what God pleases shall come to pass'. Early in May arrived a long answer from the Marātha chief, reciting his grievances and accusing the English of having provoked hostilities. Boone retorted on 5 May, traversing his assertions and declaring that, unless restitution were at once made, steps would be taken to bring him to reason. A further seizure of Kānhoji's officers was followed by a series of retaliatory raids upon his coasts, with varying success; and on 13 June 1718 Boone published a proclamation which was in effect a declaration of war.

Throughout the autumn preparations went on for striking a blow at Kānhoji Angria's shipping and forts. All the available war vessels were mustered, a force of soldiers was embarked, and two Indiamen (the *Dartmouth* and the *Addison*) were ordered to join the squadron. Boone himself took command, hoisting his flag in the last-named vessel on 1 November. The attack was first directed upon the island-fortress of Khānderi, at the mouth of Bombay harbour. This was heavily bombarded, and on 6 and 7 November landings were effected; but, in spite of the gallantry of the sailors, all

[1] In this he styled himself 'Subadar of Cullaby' (Kolāba).



BOMBAY AND ITS VICINITY

attempts to storm the fortifications failed.[1] On the 9th the fleet stood over to Kolāba, which was bombarded at intervals, but without producing any result other than a delusive offer of negotiations for peace. After some delay Boone himself returned to Bombay, from whence he sent instructions for the fleet to proceed down the coast to Vijayadrug (Gheria) and do what damage it could to the forts and shipping there. The result is given as follows in an abstract of a letter from Bombay to the Company of 9 January 1719 : 'On the 23th November three frigots, with the galleys, a bomb ketch, small fire ship, and some gallevats, were sent to visit Angria's harbours, to engage or burn his grabs. At Vissundroog they found one ; but the fire vessell blew up, by a shot from the enemy, before she boarded the grab. Going to Carwar to clean, they met Angria's fleet and took four of their prizes, which are on their way to Bombay ; but the grabs got away, being little wind'. The log of the *Addison* records that on 24 November that vessel sailed from Kolāba, in company with the *Duke of York* and all the Company's war vessels, 'thay being bound in to Visenbuke to distroy Angeries grabes'. The *Addison* lost company on the same evening, and, except for a momentary glimpse of the squadron on the 29th, saw no more of it until it came into Kārwār Bay on 6 December, bringing the four prizes. On the 22nd the squadron, accompanied by the *Addison*, sailed for Bombay. Seven days later they anchored off Vijayadrug, and 'several of the gallivats', says the log, 'went in to the river to see if thier was any of Angries grabs thier, our desine being to burn them ; butt thier was not any in the river. Att seven att night the bomb ketch went near the fort to heve in some cowhorns ;[2] which they did and sett fier [to] several house[s]. About one in the morning, having expended all thier shells, she came out'. The squadron then resumed its voyage to Bombay.

Such is the story, so far as it can be gathered from the contemporary records. Turning now to Downing's account, we find a puzzling state of affairs. He describes an attack upon

[1] An account of the operations will be found in the log of the *Addison* (India Office, no. 703 A). See also Biddulph's *Pirates of Malabar*, p. 122.

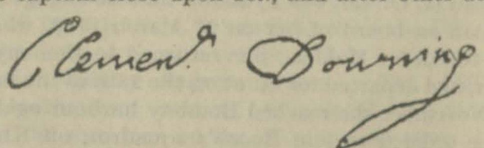
[2] Shells from cohorns (small mortars).

Vijayadrug in April 1717 (of which no trace can be found in the records), and some pages later on gives an account of the attempt on Khānderi, which he dates (quite correctly) as November 1718. Moreover, his narrative of the fighting at the former place speaks of a military force being landed, and of this there is no trace in the other accounts. What is the explanation of these discrepancies ? Colonel Biddulph (*Pirates of Malabar*, p. 100) suggests that Downing made a mistake as to the date of the expedition to Vijayadrug, and that, instead of April 1717, it should be placed in June 1718 ; but the records he cites do not mention that place as the objective, and it seems clear that they refer merely to a minor raid on Angria's coast districts near Bombay. The true explanation is that Downing did not participate in the Vijayadrug affair, though, writing some eighteen years after, he thought it safe to claim the credit of having done so. The ledger of the *Morrice* East Indiaman (I. O., no. 679 F) shows that he engaged himself as a seaman on board of her on 27 March 1718, when she was about to sail for Mokha. She returned to Bombay on 4 September, and departed for Surat on the 28th of the same month. On 6 November she reached Bombay harbour again, but was at once ordered to join Boone's squadron off Khānderi. A party of her seamen—doubtless Downing was among them—took part in the assault ; but on 8 November she was sent into Bombay harbour, and so she had no share in the further expedition to Kolāba and Vijayadrug. This enables us to place matters in their right perspective. Not very long after his return to Bombay, Downing must have resigned (or been dismissed from) his post in the marine service ;[1] and he then obtained a berth upon the *Morrice*, in which vessel he served continuously until her arrival in England. He would naturally hear at the time about the attack upon Vijayadrug ; and on his return to India in 1721 he doubtless gleaned particulars of the further attack upon the same place made in 1720 (see p. 46). His account seems to be a mixture of the two. He did take part in the assault upon Khānderi, but here again he

[1] Apparently it was during his employment in that force that the undated incident mentioned on p. 131 occurred. He there says that he was then serving as second lieutenant in the *Victoria*, under Wilkie.

dresses up the story to suggest that he was still in a position of responsibility on one of the war vessels. His object in misrepresenting matters was probably to exaggerate the part he had played in the operations against Angria, in order to strengthen his case in the application he was making to the Company to engage his services afresh.

The same ledger which has enabled us to detect his misrepresentations enlightens us also as to the way in which Downing got back to England in 1719—a point on which he nowhere vouchsafes information. As already mentioned, he went home in the *Morrice*, which sailed from Bombay on 10 January of that year, and reached the Thames in the following August. On the 22nd of that month Downing was discharged at Woolwich, and on 15 October he signed a receipt for his pay for 16 months 25 days at 26*s*. per month. He owed the captain close upon 16*l*., and after other deductions



he had only 3*l*. 17*s*. to draw. Even that was attached by a creditor, who had a claim for 10*l*. against him ; and he must therefore have found himself in straitened circumstances at the end of this his first visit to the East.

As we are here concerned mainly with Downing's personal history, it is unnecessary to examine closely the account he gives of events at Bombay during 1719 and 1720, except to notice that he represents himself as being on the spot all the time. Indeed, from what is said in the first section of the narrative the reader would conclude that Downing's service in India was continuous from 1715 to 1723.

After a stay in England of about eighteen months, Downing sailed again for the East in February 1721, this time in a vessel of the royal navy. The representations of the East India Company had induced the British Government to send out a squadron of four ships, under Commodore Thomas Mathews, to clear the Eastern seas of the European pirates

who were doing serious damage to trade. Downing was on board the *Salisbury*, which was commanded by Capt. Cockburn. He asserts that his post was that of midshipman—a rank which had not yet been reserved for commissioned officers, but could be attained by any seaman of experience. The ship's pay book (Public Record Office, no. 303) shows, however, that he enlisted (10 December 1720) as an able seaman, and was paid as such during the whole of the period he was on board. The explanation may be that, on one or more occasions, he acted as a midshipman, and, writing years after, arrogated to himself that rank.

The choice of Mathews for the command of the squadron was an unfortunate one. Though brave and energetic, he was hot-headed and blundering, as indeed is evident from his later career; while his arrogant demeanour was continually giving offence. Horace Mann summed him up as 'void of common sense, good manners, or knowledge of the world'; and it should have been easy to discern that to send such a man to the East without precise instructions as to his behaviour in relation to the Company's servants would inevitably lead to serious trouble. His chief aim during his stay in Indian waters seems to have been to amass a fortune by trading, and he unblushingly used His Majesty's ships for that purpose. This, and perhaps the arbitrary way in which he displaced or transferred his officers, rendered him very unpopular in the fleet, as is evinced by the tone of Downing's references to him.

Of the voyage out our author gives an interesting account. Bad weather was experienced in the Channel and in the Bay, with the result that the *Salisbury* and the *Exeter* were forced to go into Lisbon for repairs. Mathews in the *Lion*, with the *Shoreham* in company, proceeded on his voyage, and reached Bombay on 27 August 1721; the *Exeter* arrived on 15 September; and the *Salisbury* a fortnight later. On the Commodore's arrival Boone refused to fire a salute until the King's ships had done so, asserting that such had been the rule on previous occasions. Mathews was equally determined not to take the initiative, and the dispute was only terminated by the arrival, nine days later, of a letter from the Company ordering that, to avoid any possible friction, the fort should

fire first. It was a bad beginning, and the dispute proved to be the forerunner of many others between the Commodore and the Company's servants during his stay in Indian waters.

The squadron had arrived at an opportune moment. On 7 September came a letter from Robert Cowan, whom Boone had sent to Goa some time before, announcing that an agreement[1] had been concluded with the Viceroy for an offensive and defensive alliance against Angria. Early in October Cowan himself arrived at Bombay, bringing the treaty, which was signed by Boone two days later. Preparations were at once commenced for the proposed expedition, in which Mathews with his squadron was to co-operate; and at the end of November the fleet sailed for Chaul, where the Portuguese awaited their coming. Cowan, who had been made a Member of Council in reward for his services, was appointed to the command of the Bombay force, in the hope that his acquaintance with the Viceroy would secure harmonious relations with the Portuguese. Of the operations that followed,[2] which were attended by the usual failure, Downing gives a lively account; and this we may supplement by the following excerpts from the contemporary abstract of a dispatch from Bombay (the original being no longer extant):

Letter of 28 *December* 1721.—Pursuant to the treaty sent, the Viceroy, with four Portugeez ships (from 60 to 70 guns) and grabs and munchuas [see p. 14], arriv'd before Choul 19th November. Their troops landed with expedition. The English joyn'd them; and the 2d. instant marcht to take Allabag, a fort which protects the watering place of Calaby [Kolāba]; passing over two rivers, from whence repulsed the enemy. Hope to hear speedily its taken and Callaby invested. Particulars of the English forces: 2,409 men, 14 great guns, two mortars, eight cohorns. The Portugeez in all 3,860; 22 great guns, eight large mortars. Cant yet learn the enemys strength. Have hitherto appear'd with 500 horse and 1000 foot,

[1] Printed in Biker's *Tratados*, vol. iii, p. 242. It was dated 10/20 August 1721, and provided for joint military operations against Kolāba and 'Griem' (Gheria ?), stipulating that, if these were successful, the former place should be given to the Portuguese and the latter to the English.

[2] A narrative of the part played by the Portuguese will be found in Danvers's *Portuguese in India* (vol. ii, p. 391).

besides what in garrison. Portugeez troops but indifferent. Hope the Viceroy and English may animate them and the expedition prove successfull. . . . (*Added later*) The expedition against Angria defeated by the cowardice and treachery of the Portugeez. Trying to scale Allybag Fort, the wall proved too high. Many of the English dammaged by their own shells. The mariners from the men of war suffer'd most in the retreat, being not under good command. The Viceroy, indisposed, left the camp and got aboard ship, and could not be prevail'd on to go ashore. The Portugeez troops dispirited and, hearing that Angria had assistance coming to him, they would come to a treaty. Apprehend [they] have made terms exclusive of the English, though contrary to articles. . . . The Commodore greatly commended for his assistance. The English behav'd as they should. Had the Portugeez done so, had taken all the forts. (*Postscript of* 8 *January* 1722.)—The fleet against Angria return'd the 30th December. The Show Rajahs [1] general proposing an accommodation, Mr. Cowan sent to treat as per instructions given him ; but the Portugeez had ratify'd a treaty exclusive of the English (as he found on his arrivall), though they had in the treaty of alliance stipulated the contrary. Mr. Cowan order'd to insist on ratifying the treaty made anno 1719 with the Show Rajah and Angrias envoys, with some additions. But they sending no persons to treat, Mr. Cowan return'd.

It will be seen that the Bombay Government placed the whole blame of the failure upon the Portuguese ; but this is scarcely a sufficient explanation. It seems clear that the ill-success of this, as of the former expeditions, was due mainly to the poor quality of the troops available at Bombay. These were made up partly of Europeans, largely deserters or broken down men who could find no better employment : partly of 'topasses'—half-castes claiming Portuguese descent : and partly of Indian mercenaries, who had small reason to hazard their lives in the service of alien masters. Their officers had little or no military experience ; in fact several were junior servants on the Company's establishment who preferred soldiering to the dull routine of commercial life. Discipline was slack, and drunkenness was rampant in all ranks. Such a force might be adequate to defend the island of Bombay against occasional raids, but it made a poor show when it was a question of storming fortifications held by a determined

[1] Rāja Shāhu, the head of the Marāthas.

enemy. In point of fact, on each occasion the brunt of the fighting seems to have fallen upon the British seamen, whose gallantry left nothing to be desired.

If Downing really took part (as he alleges) in the attack upon Alībāg, it must have been, not as a seaman in the *Salisbury*, but as an officer once again in the Company's armed vessels. The pay-book of the *Salisbury* records that he was discharged from that ship on 10 October 1721 (i.e. soon after her arrival) ' on preferment ', and did not rejoin until 1 January 1722. Since there is no trace of his having been transferred to another unit of Mathew's squadron, we must infer that he had obtained a post in the Company's marine, recruits for which were doubtless being sought, in view of the proposed operations. If, however, the incidents related on pp. 188–91 occurred during this period of Downing's service (as seems likely), it is doubtful whether he could have shared in the Alībāg expedition. The only vessels noted in the Bombay consultations as having gone towards Cambay during these three months were the *Hunter* galley and the *Emilia* sloop ; and they sailed on 2 December and returned on the 28th of that month. It will be noticed that Downing mentions the *Hunter* as the companion vessel to the one he was in, and says that the incident was subsequent to the establishment of Whitehill at Cambay. The latter statement is clearly wrong, for Whitehill did not reach that post until October 1722, after which we can account for all Downing's movements ; but it is not so far out as it would be if we adopted the alternative theory that the incidents referred to occurred during Downing's first period of service in the Bombay marine force.

In January 1722 Governor Boone, after six years of office, handed over charge to his Second in Council, William Phipps, and embarked for England. He was thus spared the indignity of being turned out by his employers, who, on 24 March following, wrote a tart letter, criticizing his administration on many points and showing special dissatisfaction with the high rate of expenditure at Bombay. The immediate cause of his dismissal was, however, his action in dismissing from the service (April 1721) John Braddyll, his Second in Council, and certain

other of the Company's officials. Into the details of this incident we need not enter, except to say that Boone's motive was apparently an honest conviction that Braddyll was secretly conniving at a movement which aimed at wresting the administration out of the Governor's hands and vesting it in his own. Upon his dismissal Braddyll, with Laurence Parker (who had also been ejected from the service), fled to Portuguese territory ; but later in the year, after the return of Commodore Mathews to Bombay, the two fugitives re-appeared and placed themselves under his protection. This was readily accorded ; whereupon Boone and his Council, finding the position embarrassing, thought it expedient to allow Braddyll to embark for England unmolested. The Company took an unfavourable view of the Governor's behaviour in the affair, and, in the letter referred to, ordered that, if he was still at Bombay when it arrived, he should resign his charge to Phipps and proceed to England. Braddyll was reinstated by the Company and returned to Bombay in December 1723 as Third in Council.

Mathews proved quite as troublesome to the new Governor (Phipps) as he had been to his predecessor. On 29 January 1722 the Bombay Council wrote to the Directors complaining of the Commodore's haughty and arbitrary behaviour, in total disregard of the Company's interests, and accusing him of taking up money for private trade by drawing bills on the Admiralty in excess of the requirements of the squadron. In a subsequent letter (23 March 1722) they declared that his suspension of Sir Robert Johnson (the captain of the *Exeter*) was really due to the fact that the latter was favourably disposed towards the Company and its servants.

However, the Bombay Government was to be relieved of the presence of Mathews for nearly a year. At the end of January 1722, that officer departed on a voyage to Madagascar, in search of the pirates whom it was his special mission to extirpate. Downing, as we have seen, had rejoined the *Salisbury* at the beginning of the year. Why he should have quitted the Company's service so quickly we cannot tell ; but it is not unlikely that he was influenced by the prevalent impression that the pirates possessed an immense stock of

wealth, and that the amount of booty to be obtained from them was very large. However this may have been, we owe to his participation a detailed and interesting account of the proceedings of Mathews's squadron. The ships touched at Mauritius and Reunion, and then proceeded to the island of St. Mary, on the north-eastern side of Madagascar. There they found the discarded spoils of the pirates, but no sign of the rogues themselves, who, warned by a letter imprudently left by Mathews at St. Augustine's Bay on his outward voyage, had retreated to the southern part of the island. The Commodore, who was evidently half-hearted in his quest, made no attempt to follow them ; and after some delay proceeded round the north of the island, finally repairing to the Comoros. Thence on 16 June he departed for Madras and Bengal—which, as Downing caustically observes, were 'not very likely places to find the pyrates'—leaving orders that the *Salisbury* and *Exeter* were to go to the Straits of Babelmandeb and there cruise for pirates. They sailed on this mission on 9 July and remained in the neighbourhood of the Straits until towards the end of August, when they sailed for Bombay, arriving 3 September 1722.

The *Lion*, Mathews's flag-ship, reached the same port on 6 December following, and the Commodore at once took up his old attitude of obstructing the proceedings of the Governor and Council. Capt. Cockburn, who had lent some men from the *Salisbury* to assist in driving off the Portuguese (who were preventing provisions from reaching Bombay), was censured and suspended from his command. On 11 January 1723 Governor Phipps and his Council reported to the effect that 'Mr. Mathews espouses all delinquents causes, and interposes in the Companys affairs. Brought Mrs. Gyfford with him from Bengal, and secured her effects, attacht towards paying her husbands debts. . . . He sent the President copy of the late brokers petition and says [he] will carry him to England, desiring the brother to be released from his confinement ; whereupon answer was sent him the brokers were the Companys debtors on account of frauds, and he [was] desired not to interfere in the Companys affairs' (*Bombay Abstracts*, vol. i, p. 450).

For a time there was a prospect of relief from the Commodore's antagonism, for he had announced his intention of taking home his squadron immediately; but he changed his mind. After dispatching the *Exeter* to England on 13 January 1723, he remained himself until the close of the year, busy with voyages for trading purposes, and still quarrelling with the Company's servants at every opportunity. Finally he departed in the *Lion* on 28 December 1723, followed by the *Shoreham* on 6 January. The *Salisbury* had already gone home.

Upon the arrival of Mathews in England (July 1724) the East India Company complained to the Admiralty of his outrageous behaviour. Charges were also brought against him by the captain of the *Shoreham*, with the result that he was tried by court martial in the following December. The Company, being unwilling to push matters to an extremity, had decided not to lay any criminal charge against him, such as trading with pirates, and they abstained from appearing at the court martial. He therefore got off lightly, being merely adjudged guilty of receiving merchandise on board and of sending men irregularly to merchant ships; and for these offences he was mulcted of four months' pay (Biddulph's *Pirates of Malabar*, p. 200). The Company, however, brought a civil action for damages in the Court of Exchequer, and obtained a verdict against him for 13,676*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*, 'being the value proved at the tryal that he had traded for'; and this sum, in accordance with the Act of Parliament, was doubled as a penalty (*Company to Bombay*, 2 April 1725). The defendant's counsel promptly took out a writ of error, which delayed matters until May 1728. Then Mathews wrote to the Directors, through Sir Charles Wager, one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, begging them to drop the proceedings. The matter was left by the Court of Directors to the Committee of Correspondence to settle as they thought fit. Their decision is not on record; but probably they concluded that there was little chance of getting so large a sum from Mathews, that any attempt would offend his powerful friends, and that the wisest course, therefore, was to abandon the claim.

Though it is evident enough from his narrative that Downing

did not go home in the *Salisbury*, he nowhere explains the reason. This is supplied by the ship's pay-book, which records curtly that he deserted at Surat on 27 November 1722. We may infer that he was afraid that the squadron was going home immediately, and that, wishing to earn more money before he did so, he had determined to try his luck up country, where an English sailor was sure of a well-paid billet as an artilleryman. It is true that on pp. 111, 180 he makes references to his having been taken by some pirates and put ashore at a place about thirty miles from Cambay, whereupon he made for Baroda ; but on the latter page the truth seems to slip out in his statement that he and two companions set out 'to travel from Surat to Bengal', while on p. 135 he mentions that during his journey to Baroda he reached a town situated between Surat and Broach, and this is quite inconsistent with his statement about his place of landing. Moreover, if his absence from duty had been caused by his being captured by pirates, why did he not, upon release, make for Surat to rejoin his ship ? And why is there no mention in the ship's log, or the Bombay records, of the capture ? We must conclude that his story was a mere blind to conceal the fact that he was a deserter from the royal navy. His statement that his design was ultimately to proceed via Delhi to Bengal is probably correct. It would not be safe to appear at Surat so soon after deserting from the navy ; but he might well hope that later, at a distant station where he was not known, he could secure a berth on board one of the Company's vessels, the captains of which were generally short of sailors and glad to take an experienced hand without asking inconvenient questions.

We may accept then as a fact that Downing was at Baroda in December 1722, and there took service under one of the Mughal generals as a captain of artillery. Before, however, we proceed to follow his fortunes farther, it may be well to glance at the state of affairs in Gujarāt during the period (nine or ten months) in which he was thus employed. For this purpose a brief summary must suffice ; but any one desirous of fuller information should consult Irvine's *Later*

Mughals (vol. ii, chs. vii and viii), the *Bombay Gazetteer* (vol. i, pt. i, pp. 302 *et seq.*), and Elliot and Dowson's *History of India* (vol. vii, pp. 517–30).

Gujarāt was at this time disturbed, not merely by the constant raids of the Marāthas, but also by the struggles for power by rival chiefs, each claiming to act in the name of the Mughal Emperor. The latter, Muhammad Shah, a feeble monarch, possessed little real authority and maintained his position chiefly by playing off one powerful servant against another. In October 1721 Haidar Kūli Khān was appointed viceroy of the province, but it was not until the following June that he reached his post at Ahmadābād. His arbitrary behaviour soon alarmed his imperial master, with the result that in October 1722 the post of viceroy of Gujarāt was conferred upon Chīn Kilich Khān,[1] Nizām-ul-Mulk, who had been previously summoned to Delhi from the Deccan to take up the post of Wazīr of the empire. He set out slowly towards Ahmadābād in the following month, but got no farther than Dhar, whence he swerved into Mālwa and then returned to Delhi (July 1723). He was as much mistrusted at court as Haidar Kūli Khān had been, and doubts as to his intentions towards his sovereign may have given rise to rumours which would account for Downing representing him as actually in rebellion. At Delhi the Nizām endeavoured to restore order in the administration, but found all his efforts frustrated by the worthless favourites who surrounded the Emperor, while the constant intrigues of his enemies threatened his own position. He therefore quitted the court (December 1723) on the pretext of ill-health, and proceeded to Murādābād. News of fresh invasions of Gujarāt and Mālwa by the Marāthas drew him southwards to expel them ; but on his way he learnt that his opponents at court had prevailed upon the Emperor to appoint his subordinate at Hyderābād to the charge of the Deccan, and he thereupon hastened thither himself to a ert his own authority.

On abandoning his journey to Ahmadābād in February 1723, the Nizām had appointed his uncle, Hāmid Khān, to

[1] Known to the English factors as 'Chicklis Caun'.

be his deputy in Gujarāt. About the same time Haidar Kūli Khān quitted the province, and marching by way of Ajmer to avoid falling in with the Nizām's troops, reached Delhi in safety. He had left Gujarāt in the charge of Shujā'at Khān, one of his principal supporters; but in April Hāmid Khān arrived and took charge of the administration. Shujā'at Khān and his brother, Rustam Ali Khān, remained, however, at the head of their respective armies, which were employed against the Marāthas and the insurgent Kolis; and there was bitter enmity between them and the new deputy-viceroy. In December 1723 the Nizām resigned his titular appointments of Wazīr and Viceroy of Gujarāt and Mālwa; and thereupon Sarbuland Khān was nominated viceroy of the former province, the administration of which he entrusted to Shujā'at Khān as his deputy. This, however, carries us beyond the limits of our story. All the time the Marāthas had been ravaging Gujarāt; while the Kolis—the aboriginal hill and coast tribes, who had never wholly submitted to Mughal rule—were chronically in rebellion.

Downing's account of his experiences, though deeply interesting, is far from clear. Nor is this surprising. Probably he understood little of the real position of affairs; and, writing thirteen years later, he seems to have mixed up things heard with things seen. He describes marches and countermarches, conflicts with Marāthas and Kolis, the destruction of Hindu temples and the plundering and burning of towns; but he gives no dates and few place-names, while it is seldom possible to date from other sources the incidents he records. To construct an orderly narrative from his rambling statements seems an impossible task, and it is best to take his story as a patchwork of confused recollections.

After nine months or so of campaigning, Downing grew tired of the life. He had, as he tells us, 'pretty well feather'd his nest', and he was evidently anxious to return to England. Accordingly he resigned his post and went down with a caravan from Ahmadābād to Surat. There he found the *King George* Indiaman, aboard which without difficulty he obtained employment. The ship returned to Bombay and from thence on

12 November 1723, sailed for England, where she arrived at the end of the following May.

Downing tells us that his departure from Ahmadābād took place in 'the latter end of November'; this is impossible, seeing that the ledger of the *King George* (I. O. records, no. 402 N) gives the date of his engagement as 11 October, and at the time he mentions the vessel was on her way home. He likewise declares that during the voyage he acted as fourth mate. With regard to that assertion, we can only note that, according to the same ledger, he was paid merely as a seaman, at 23*s*. a month.

Evidently our author had now had enough for the time being of a roaming life, for we find him, in the year after his return, occupying the humble position of a labourer in the East India Company's Drug Warehouse. This we learn from an entry in the Court Minutes of 1 September 1725, which records the receipt of a petition from him, complaining that he had been turned out of that employment. The matter was referred to the Committee of Warehouses for investigation; and the same course was taken with a letter received from Downing in the following November. No report on the subject has been traced, and we are left in doubt whether he was reinstated; but the probability seems to be that he was not, and that he had to seek some other means of livelihood. His inability to retain a post for any length of time suggests some fault in Downing himself. That he was quarrelsome or insubordinate does not appear from his narrative; but one might perhaps infer, from a passage on p. 143, that he was too much addicted to liquor—a common fault among the sailors of that period. However this may be, it is evident that he was still looking back with regret (cf. p. 182) to his experiences in India, for on 16 February 1726 another petition from him to the Directors was read, praying to be sent to Bombay, with his wife and child, and to be there employed, either in the land or sea service. This was referred to the Committee of Shipping, whose decision is not on record, though evidently it was unfavourable. There is then a blank of ten years, during which we know nothing of his doings.

The clue to the rest of the story is given in the publisher's preface to his book, which states that 'our author is at this time employ'd in a reputable Post in the Expedition now on foot, and went with the Ships &c. to the East Indies in 1736'. A search in the records for that year has revealed the fact that he went out in the *Wilmington* in the autumn of 1736. That vessel was being dispatched for the special purpose of guarding the Company's shipping against pirates, and her captain, Charles Massey, was to be commodore of the naval forces whilst in Eastern waters. She and her consort, the *Montagu*, carried a number of soldiers and sailors to be employed at Bombay; and we presume that Downing, on the score of his previous experience, had obtained inclusion in their number, possibly as a petty officer.

The *Wilmington* left the Downs on 26 November, and after calling at the usual places on her way, reached Bombay on 3 July 1737, and landed her passengers. Downing is nowhere mentioned in the log (640 B); but in the corresponding ledger (640 F) we find entered at the end an account of the sale of his effects, producing 6*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*, which was paid over to the captain at the end of the voyage, presumably to await a claim from any person entitled to it. No date is given, and the entry seems to have been made merely because the money was temporarily in the charge of the purser. There were eight purchasers at the auction, and in each case the amount was entered in the buyer's account as 'dead men's effects'. This proves that Downing died during the voyage out, i.e. at some date between November 1736 and July 1737. It may seem strange that no entry of the event was made in the log; but possibly Capt. Massey regarded Downing and his companions as passengers merely, and left any casualties occurring amongst them to be notified by the officer in charge. The letter from Bombay, replying to the one brought out by the *Wilmington*, is unfortunately missing; otherwise that might have given a list of the deaths that had happened amongst the recruits.

The arrangement of the book is somewhat peculiar. It seems clear that the first 68 pages, which carry the story down to the time of writing (1736), were all that Downing had at

first intended to publish; and possibly they were composed for the purpose of helping him to obtain re-employment in the Company's service. Then comes a second section, with a special preface by the author, giving a more detailed account of the cruise of Mathews's squadron. This is followed by a third, which supplies further particulars of the ex-pirate Plantain and his wars in Madagascar, together with 'an additional history of the Indian wars'; and the third section, we may note, is longer than the other two put together. What is the explanation of such a haphazard arrangement? The hypothesis of separate publication, followed by a collection of the three into one volume, is negatived both by considerations of date and by the absence of any trace of such issues. The only supposition that seems to offer a reasonable explanation is that the publisher, after getting the first part into type, thought so well of its chances of success that he asked for more; whereupon Downing, glad of the chance of earning a little money, readily supplied him with the second and then with the third portion of the work.

After making all deductions on the score of inaccuracies, both wilful and involuntary, the fact remains that the work is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the course of events in India at the period with which it is concerned, and is especially useful on account of the scarcity of other materials from the English side. In particular, the intimate details it supplies—details not to be obtained from official sources—throw much light upon the life of the time and help us to realize the state of affairs in the Company's settlements. Considerable use has been made of Downing's book in various official publications, as well as in such works as Low's *History of the Indian Wars*, Col. John Biddulph's *Pirates of Malabar*, and Messrs. Kincaid and Parasnis's *History of the Maratha People*. The sifting his statements have now undergone has shown that those authors have sometimes been misled by his assertions; but the corrections do not seriously affect the general trustworthiness of his account of events, and the narrative remains one which no student of the history of that time can afford to neglect.

The text has been reprinted exactly as it stands in the original edition, with the exception that obvious errors due to the printer have been corrected. Downing's few notes are distinguished by the old-fashioned asterisk, &c. ; the rest are editorial. It has not been deemed necessary to call attention to some minor errors, such as the incorrect latitude and longitude assigned to certain places ; the reader will assume that in this respect Downing was not more accurate than most of his contemporaries.

A Compendious

HISTORY

OF THE

INDIAN WARS;

WITH

An Account of the RISE, PROGRESS, STRENGTH, and FORCES of

Angria the Pyrate.

ALSO

The TRANSACTIONS of a Squadron of Men of War under Commodore *Matthews*, sent to the *East-Indies* to suppress the PYRATES.

To which is annex'd,

An ADDITIONAL HISTORY of the Wars between the *Great Mogul*, *Angria*, and his *Allies*.

With an Account of the LIFE and ACTIONS of JOHN PLANTAIN, a notorious Pyrate at *Madagascar*; his Wars with the Natives on that Island, where having continued eight Years, he join'd *Angria*, and was made his chief Admiral.

By *CLEMENT DOWNING*,

Midshipman on board the *Salisbury*; afterwards Lieutenant of the *Victory Frigate*, *Fame Gally*, and *Revenge Grab*, part of the Squadron employ'd by the *East-India* Company to attack *Angria*; and sometime ENGINEER in the Service of the *Great Mogul*.

London: Printed for T. COOPER, at the *Globe* in *Pater-noster Row*. M.DCC.XXXVII.

(Price bound 2 *s*. 6 *d*.)

1737

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TO THE READER.

THE following Accounts were wrote by Mr. Clement Downing, *who for some Years was employ'd in the* East-Indies *in several reputable Posts; and consequently an Eye-witness of most of the Transactions here mention'd.*

It was thought proper to premise this; as the World has been of late very much imposed on by fictitious Pieces, under the Titles of Voyages, Travels, Memoirs, &c. with sham Names prefix'd as the Authors. This sort of Writings has been collected from different Books, alter'd, enlarg'd, abridg'd, jumbled together, to serve the turn; and many improbable Incidents added, to amuse the Imagination of the Reader, but of no real Use to inform his Understanding.

As there have been very few Relations of the Transactions in the East-Indies *between the* English *and* Angria, *a History of the Rise, Progress, Strength, and Forces of this formidable Pyrate must certainly be very entertaining. This is what our Author has done in a very concise, tho' particular manner; he has also given an Account of the Attacks made on his Forts and strong Places, in order to drive him from the Sea-coasts. In this the Reader should allow for the known Partiality of an* English *Sailor to those of his own Country and Profession; and for some little Prejudice against the Land-Forces, very natural to Mariners.*

In the Transactions of the Squadron sent to suppress the Pyrates in the East-Indies, *our Author gives his Reasons, very probable ones, why it succeeded no better; without throwing out any indecent Reflections on the Conductors of that Expedition.*

The Account of John Plantain *the famous Pyrate of* Madagascar, *and his Companions is very diverting, and gives a particular*

Relation of the Conduct, Behaviour, and Way of Life of those abandon'd Wretches.

In the additional Account of Angria, *his Wars with the* Mogul, *&c. there is a Description of several Parts of the* Mogul's *Dominions, the Nature of the Civil Government, and the Method of making War in those Parts. Here Mr.* Downing *acted as Engineer for some Campaigns, till he thought proper to quit the Service, and return to his native Country.*

As our Author is at this time employ'd in a reputable Post in the Expedition now on foot, and went with the Ships, &c. sent to the East-Indies *in* 1736 ; *this sufficiently vouches for his preceding good Behaviour in those Parts.*

The Reader is desired to remember, that he is not to expect a florid Style in historical Relations ; and that the Author of these Pieces being always bred to the Sea, perhaps may sometimes mistake in smaller matters relating to the Marches, &c. of a Land-Army. Allowing this, I doubt not but he will find these Accounts both Entertaining and Instructive.

A SUCCINCT

HISTORY

OF THE

INDIAN WARS:

With an account of the Rise, Progress, Strength and Forces of ANGRIA the Pyrate, &c.

IN the Year 1715, I left *England*, in the *Queen of Peace*.[1] Capt. *John Martin* Commander, in company with the Hon. *Charles Boone*, Esq ; who imbarked on board the *Stanhope*, Capt. *Wentworth George Pitt* Commander. We arrived at *Bombay* on the 25th of *December* following, one Day before the Arrival of the Governor, being sent a-head of them to give an Account of his Honour's Arrival. Early next Morning the *Stanhope* arrived off the Island of *Bombay*, where the Governor landed with the usual State and Grandure. He was commission'd from the Crown and Company,[2] as President of the Castle and Island of *Bombay* ; Governor and Commander in Chief of all the United Company's Forces, on the Coast of *India*, *Persia* and *Arabia*.

AT our Arrival on the said Island, all the Honours due to him were paid by the Inhabitants, and their Compliments were kindly received by his Honour. When the Governor arrived, the Inhabitants complained of the heavy Oppressions and

[1] The ship is always referred to as the *Queen*. Her log, which is preserved at the India Office, does not mention Downing.

[2] By the Company, under authority from the Crown.

Injuries they had received from *Angria* the Pyrate, who was then at *Golabey*,[1] and had also the Island of *Kenerey*,[2] with the strong Castle of *Gerey*,[3] the Channel of whose Harbour is very difficult to find out. We had an Account of several Insults he had offered in those Parts on the Company's Shipping belonging to *Europe*, as well as those which belong'd to the Island of *Bombay*. They had at two several Times engaged the *Blenheim*, Capt. *Parrot*, and the *Godolphin*, Capt. *Ingram*, two Ships belonging to the Company.[4] But I think it proper first to give an Account of the Original, Birth and Parentage of *Angria*, and how the Island of *Bombay* came to the *English* by the Dower of Queen *Catherine* of *Portugal*, and the like; which Account has not as yet been published.

AT the Marriage of King *Charles* the Second with *Catherine* of *Portugal*, the Island of *Bombay* with the Cities of *Goa* and *Bassean*, were given to England as Part of her Portion.[5] But the *English* met with many Interruptions before they obtained it, and the Government was obliged to fit out four Men of War to settle Things for the *East-India* Company; who pay an Acknowledgment [6] to the Crown, according to their Contract. The Governors of *Bombay* have the Title of President and Governor of his Majesty's Castle and Island of *Bombay*, by Commission from the Crown, and have a Troop of Horse under their Command, with three Regiments of Foot, and all Things convenient.

THE Men of War that went thither, were the *Anglesey*, under the Command of Commodore *Littleton*; the *Harwich*; the *Lizard* and *Litchfield*.[7] The *Portuguese* made a great many

[1] Kolāba, a small fortified island near Alībāg, about twenty miles south of Bombay..

[2] Khānderi, a small island near the entrance to Bombay harbour.

[3] Gheria (Vijayadrug).

[4] No particulars have been found of the attack on the *Blenheim*. The *Godolphin* had a skirmish with part of Angria's fleet on 24 March 1710. Jonas Ingram was then only chief mate, but he was made commander in the following July, on the dismissal of the captain, John Ap Rice.

[5] Goa and Bassein were not ceded with Bombay, though it was rumoured at the time that they were to be.

[6] A quit-rent of ten pounds per annum.

[7] There is a confusion here between the fleet sent out in 1661 under the Earl of Marlborough to take over Bombay and that dispatched in

Scruples in surrendering up the Island; having built several strong Castles, as that of *Bombay*; that at *Dungerrey*; that at *Leyam*, and that at *Mayam*.[1] This Island is about seven Miles in Length, and three in Breadth,[2] has great Numbers of Coco-nut Trees, which bring in a large Revenue to the Company. The original Inhabitants were *Keneyreans*,[3] a very inoffensive People, tho' Pagans: They are of comely Stature, well shaped and very strong. They wear no Clothes, only a Piece of Linnen Cloth about their Loins, and a flat Cap on their Heads. They are distinguished by several Names; some call them *Frost*[4] or *Coolley*,[5] which is the common Name they go by among the *English*. The *Frost* eat no Flesh but what dies of itself: For any Sheep, Hogs, or Fowls that die of any sort of Distemper, they will feed on as the finest well-fed Meat whatever. So that when such Accidents happen to the *English*, they send for some of them to take the same away; which they are very thankful for. They are very industrious and cleanly; for tho' they eat such unclean Things, they wash 'em first.

AS to *Angria*, the original Account we have of his Birth is, that his Father was an *Arabian Cofferey*,[6] one that renounced

1699 under Commodore Warren (who was succeeded on his death by Commodore James Littleton) to suppress the European pirates who were interfering with the Indian trade. In the list of Littleton's ships the *Hastings* should be substituted for the *Litchfield*.

[1] Dongri, Sion (which in Fryer's map appears as Seiam), and Māhīm. 'Strong castles' is an exaggeration, even as applied to Bombay itself.

[2] Bombay Island is about 11½ miles by 3 or 4.

[3] The English followed the Portuguese in extending the term Kanarese to the people of the Konkan. Fryer (ed. Crooke, vol. ii, p. 42), speaking of the Malabar Coast, says: 'the language is Canorein, which to me seems to be the primitive, from the Malabars up to Surat; the country short of it, as well as speech, being Canorein.' Modern research has established that at a remote period the language of the Konkan was probably Kanarese, though it is now mainly a dialect of Marāthi.

[4] Hindustāni *farrāsh*, a menial who spread carpets, pitched tents, and did household work. Fryer (*ibid.*, vol. i, p. 174) includes 'frasses or porters' among the inhabitants of Bombay Island.

[5] This term is familiar as meaning an Indian hired labourer; but in Downing's time it also signified the Kolis, a hill tribe in Gujarāt whose turbulence gave much trouble to the Mughal authorities.

[6] Arabic *Kāfir* (pl. *Kofra*), an unbeliever, especially applied to pagan

the *Mahometan* Faith, and being on the Coast of *India*, he took on to serve the Grand Sedey,[1] who was then at War with the Mogul; and this *Purah Angria* his Son entered into the Mogul's Service, and there for some Misdemeanor was discharged, and then he renounced the Faith of *Mahomet*, and fled to the Grand Sedey, and was of great Service to him, so that he gave him his own Sister to Wife. The present *Correngey* [2] *Angria* is not the true begotten Son of this *Purah Angria*, but an Impostor, according to the following Account: This *Angria* was the Son of a *Cofferey* Man and Woman, that were taken Prisoners by the Sedey, and were his Slaves; *Purah Angria* had by the Sedey's Sister two Sons, both of the *Cofferey* kind, her Husband being a *Cofferey*, but she an *Indian*: However, the Children proved to be Woolly-headed. These Children were brought up together by the Sedey's Kinsmen; and the Father, *Purah Angria*, was killed in an Engagement against the Mogul's Army: The Name of the first of these Boys was *Purah Angria*, and the other *Correngey Angria*: They were now grown pretty big Boys, and this Impostor taking them to the River, they all got into a Canoo, and not being acquainted with the Method of the Tide, they were drove away, and he

negroes (cf. the Kaffirs of South Africa). The author of the *History of Tulagee Assyria* (1756) says that the founder of the family was 'one Sambo Angria . . . a Caffree or Coffrey, born on an island in the Gulf of Ormus, who was a Mahometan', who, being wrecked on the coast of India about 1643, took service with the 'South Raja', i.e. the Marātha Rāja ('sow' or 'south' being a corruption of Shāhu, who was Rāja from 1708 to 1749). The same writer gives his own account of Kānhoji's ancestry, and also repeats Downing's story that he was an impostor, but only to discredit it. He admits that 'the vulgar at Bombay are full of this story', but adduces the testimony of 'two gentlemen of veracity', long resident there, who had heard nothing of the matter. The usual account is that Kānhoji was the son of a Marātha named Tukoji. A recent authority says: 'the original name of the Angrés was Sangpal and they claimed, apparently with justice, that they were of pure Rajput descent. Kanhoji's father, Tukoji, had been a sailor in the Great King's fleet, and Kanhoji had from boyhood served in the Maratha navy' (Kincaid and Parasnis's *History of the Maratha People*, vol. ii, p. 94).

[1] Downing means by this term the Marātha Rāja—not, as might be thought, the Sīdi of Janjīra, in the Konkan.

[2] 'Correngey' seems to be a mistake for 'Connergey', i.e. Kānhoji.

threw the two Boys over-board. Then coming down *Pen* River,[1] the Tide set him over to *Bombay*, where he hired himself for a Servant, to wait on the *English* Gentlemen, in whose Service he continued till he was a Man. In the mean time there had been great Search made after the other two and him ; but not finding them, it was concluded they were drowned or killed by some unknown Enemies. The Mother was in no small Concern for her Children, and not hearing what was become of them, died of Grief. These Accounts were often brought over to *Bombay* ; but as he was a Stranger there, he kept all in his own Breast. And when he was grown up to be a lusty Fellow, his Ambition led him to lay aside the Service of a Lacquey, and to take that of a Pune,[2] whose Office it is to bear Arms before their Masters, and walk with their Sword laid on their Shoulder, and their Target [3] slung at their Backs. After some time he made his Escape from *Bombay* to the Sedey's Country, where he enquired after his Mother, who was dead : He then went to several of the most ancient Inhabitants, and told them he was *Corrangey Angria*, Son of *Purah Angria*, and that the Tide had drove them out of their Knowledge, so that for three or four Days they had nothing to eat or drink ; in which Distress his Brothers died ; but said, the fourth Day he was taken up by a Fisherman belonging to *Bombay*, with whom he continued, and had been a Slave to the *English*, of whom he was resolved to be revenged. He was soon conducted to the Grand Sedey, who, by his plausible Story, really believed him to be his Sister's Son.

THE ancient Inhabitants of *Bombay* say, that the Island of *Kenerey* was in the Grand Sedey's Possession, and that he gave it to *Angria*, with several small Galleywats : [4] This makes many say he was born a Nobleman, and that his Father was a very great Man. How all the Discovery of this Affair came out, shall be related in proper Time.

[1] This is the name given in old maps (beginning with Fryer's) to the Bhogāvati Creek, which runs up from the estuary of the Amba River (south of Karanja). It was so called from the town of Pen (about ten miles up), which was a place of considerable trade.

[2] Peon (attendant).

[3] A small round shield.

[4] See later (p. 16).

OTHER Accounts say, that he was born a *Kenerey*, by a *Portuguese Cofferey* and a *Kenerey* Woman, on the Island of *Bombay*, and after he came to Man's Estate, with four or five Companions, in the Night, went away in one of the Company's Galleywats, directly to *Kenerey*, which had been fortified by the *Portuguese*. The Island is about one Mile in Circumference, and only a barren Rock, but suitable to his Intention ; it lies right in the Mouth of the Harbour of *Bombay*, about three Leagues distance, and bearing due South from the Road where we commonly lie at Anchor. The *Portuguese* at the resigning *Bombay* to the *English*, quitted this Island also ; for they had always kept a pretty good Guard there, and the Work well fortified, being all founded on a Rock. *Angria* had no sooner made himself Master of *Kenerey*,[1] but he attacked the Fishermen of *Bombay*, and took some of them. This trifling Insult the *English* put up for the present, but in a little time they sent Carpenters to *Surat*, who there built a small Vessel that mounted twelve Guns to guard the Fishery, and a Yacht for carrying the Company's Governors up and down the Coast of *India*, as Occasion required. *Angria* soon increased his Number of People by the help of the Sedey, from whom he had several small Galleywats with Guns : In cruising off the Island, they took a large Grab [2] belonging to the *Portuguese*, which they made of great Service to them. The Island is distant from any Part of the Continent about nine Miles,[3] and all the North, South and West Parts rocky, and very dangerous to attempt to land on ; but to the Eastward, there is a fine sandy Bay, or rather Cove, with the Front Work of the Fortification, supported by two very strong Bastions on each Side the Cove, which they mount with six Guns each. These Bastions command the Cove, so that whatever Boats attempt to land, they can sink them. They were prejudicial to us in our landing during the Time of the Siege which was undertaken by

[1] Khānderi, which had been occupied by the Marāthas as early as 1679, was ceded to Kānhoji in 1713.

[2] From Arabic *ghorāb*, 'a raven.'. Originally the term was applied to a galley, rowed with oars, but later it was transferred to a sailing vessel, swift and well-armed.

[3] An exaggeration.

Governor *Boone* in Person, who hoisted the Union Flag on board the *Addison*, as shall be related.

AFTER *Angria* had taken this Grab, he mounted several Guns on her, and declared open War with all Nations, and soon after took another Grab of a considerable Force from the *Portuguese*. These Grabs he soon mann'd, and had besides five Sail of Galleywats. I shall now speak of his first Assault on the *English* : When Capt. *Hudson* formerly commanded the *Tankerfield*,[1] a large Ship belonging to the Company, they were yearly sending over Supplies for the increasing the Inhabitants of the Factories and Fortifications in those Parts of *India*. Amongst these were Capt. *Cooke*, his Lady, two Daughters, and a Son, he having left two other Daughters behind in *England* for their better Education. Capt. *Cooke* was appointed chief Engineer for all the Company's Fortifications at *Bengal* ; but they arriving on the Coast of *India*, before they proceeded to *Bengal*, came to *Carwar*, then under the Protection of *Thomas*[2] *Harvey*, Esq ; Governor of that Factory, who entertain'd Capt. *Hudson* and all the Gentlemen and Ladies on board in a splendid manner. Capt. *Cooke* and his Lady being on shore for Refreshment after their fatiguing Passage, and their Children with them, Governor *Harvey* took a very great Liking to Capt. *Cooke's* eldest Daughter, Mrs. *Catherine Cooke*, on whom he proffer'd to make great Settlements, provided the Father and Mother would consent to her Marriage with him, which they did, tho' a very disagreeable Match ; for Governor *Harvey* was a deform'd Man, and in Years ; she a most beautiful Lady, not exceeding Thirteen or Fourteen Years of Age, who to oblige her Parents consented also. In a short time after they were married, Capt. *Hudson* went to *Bengal* ; and Capt. *Cooke* and his Lady, with their other Daughter and Son, were obliged to proceed to the Place appointed for their Residence leaving the eldest with her Husband, who in less than a Year

[1] Robert Hudson commanded the *Loyal Bliss*, and it was this vessel that arrived at Kārwār in October 1709, with Gerard Cook and his family on board. The story of Katherine Cook and her successive husbands has been told in detail by Col. Biddulph as an appendix to his *Pirates of Malabar*.

[2] An error for 'John'.

after died, and left his Lady chief Executrix of all his Possessions.[1] She soon after married Mr. *Chown*, a Gentleman more suitable to her Years than the former; and Mr. *Chown* and she being obliged to come up to *Bombay*, to pass the Accounts of the late Governor *Harvey*, after all their Business was compleated there, he was appointed Governor of the Factory at *Carwar*.[2] This Lady being then big with Child, the Governor of *Bombay*, Mr. *Hasleby*,[3] ordered the Company's Yacht and a small Man of War to convoy them to *Carwar*: They set sail, but had not lost Sight of *Bombay*[4] before *Angria* attack'd them with his Grabs, and they begun a smart and bloody Battle. The new-made Governor had his Right Arm shot off, and bled to Death in the young Lady's Arms, for want of the Assistance of a Surgeon. He desired before he expired, if she should alter her Condition, to accept of Mr. *William Gifford*, one of the Council of the Island of *Bombay*; which she promised. In a short time they were overcome by the *Angrians*, and carried Prisoners into *Kenerey*.[5] The *Defiance*,[6] the small Frigate, got safe back to *Bombay*, and gave an Account of this to the President and Council; who directly treated for her Ransom, which was 30000 *Rupees*.[7] This the Gentlemen of the Island

[1] Harvey, who had resigned some time before and proceeded to Bombay, returned with his wife to Kārwār in November 1711, to realize his property, and died there 6 March 1712.

[2] This is a mistake. Thomas Chown had not been appointed chief of the Kārwār factory. He and his wife went to Kārwār to look after Harvey's estate, and were returning to Bombay when their vessel was attacked (4 November 1712).

[3] William Aislabie. The vessels referred to were the *Samuel and Mary* yacht and the *Anne* ketch.

[4] The vessels had left Kārwār only the day before.

[5] Apparently this was assumed in consequence of the statement that the vessels were captured near Bombay. As a matter of fact, the prisoners were taken to Rājāpur and, with the exception of the captains and mates (who were detained in hopes of a ransom), were released almost immediately, for, travelling overland, they reached Bombay on 8 December 1712.

[6] There is no mention in the records of this vessel being present; and the news first reached Bombay on 24 November, in a letter from the prisoners.

[7] This story appears to be false. Although Mrs. Chown is not mentioned, it may be inferred from the records that she was among those

soon disburs'd, and made a Peace with *Angria*, which he kept for about two Years after: The Gentlemen who were sent to pay the Ransom were obliged to wrap their Clothes about her, to cover her Nakedness. At her Return to *Bombay*, she was welcom'd by the chief Gentlemen and Ladies of the Island, who also condol'd her on the Loss of so tender a Husband: She was shortly after brought to Bed of a Son. She most courageously withstood all *Angria's* base Usage, and endured his Insults beyond Expectation. A very short time after her Delivery, she was, with the President's Approbation, married to Mr. *William Gifford*, with whom she lived happily, till he was sent down to *Anjango*, as Governor of the Company's Forts and Factory, where he was cut off by the Natives, as shall be mentioned hereafter.

ABOUT two Years after, Capt. *Peacock* in the *Sommers*, and Capt. *Collet* in the *Grantham*, were coming up the Coast of *India* for *Bombay*; on which *Angria*, tired with lying so long idle, attack'd them very smartly; but they made a gallant Defence, and beat him off.[1] They then mann'd their Long boats, and boarded one of his Grabs; when Mr. *Henry Cave*, a young Midshipman with Capt. *Peacock*, gallantly entered over the Prow of the Grab they boarded, but one of the *Angrians* thrusting a Lance at his Breast, push'd him back into the Long-boat again. The Lance continued in his Breast till it was taken out by some of the Boat's Crew. This Lance Capt. *Peacock* kept till the Day of his Death. However, the Long-boats maintain'd a smart Battle for fours[2] and more, and it was several times thought that they would have carried one of the Grabs: But several other Galleywats coming to

who were released unconditionally. The official account of the later negotiations (February 1713) makes no allusion to the payment of ransom for anybody. The English insisted, as a condition of peace, that Kānhoji should surrender all prisoners, and to this he agreed.

[1] The log of the *Grantham* says that their assailants were a 'Savajee' (i.e. Marātha) grab and gallevat. The encounter took place near Vengurla on 20 December 1712. The Marāthas fired at the English vessels; and as want of wind prevented the latter from attacking, they sent off their boats. These returned unsuccessful, having lost two men killed and brought back seventeen wounded. This was before the conclusion of peace with Angria.

[2] Four hours?

Angria's Assistance, they were towed in, and so got off very much batter'd, with the Loss of many Men.

FROM this Time, *Angria* grew very insolent again, and took several small Ships belonging to the Country Merchants, whereby he strengthened his own Fleet. He afterwards ingaged the *Arabella*, Capt. *Read*, a small Ship belonging to the Company, the *Blenheim*, Capt. *Parrot*, and the *Godolphin*, Capt. *Ingram* Commander, who all made gallant Defences.[1] Whereupon the President and Council finding that hardly any Shipping could pass or re-pass; they for the Company's Interest in the way of Trade, thought proper to make Peace with him again. The town of *Bombay* was unwalled, and no Grabs or Frigates to protect any thing but the Fishery; except a small Munchew,[2] which had escaped when *Angria* took the Company's Yacht. When the Hon. *Charles Boone* arrived there in the Year 1715, the Island was in a declining Posture; but that Gentleman soon promoted the Trade and Tranquillity of it. He sent up to *Surat*, and there built a very fine Frigate called the *Fame*; another was built of a large Force, called the *Britannia*; and the same Year another was built, called the *Revenge*. The *Britannia* built at *Carwar*, Capt. *Weekes* Commander, mounted 18 Guns, and carried 140 Men; the *Fame*, Capt. *Passwater* Commander, mounted 16 Guns, and 120 Men; the *Revenge*, Capt. *Woodward* Commander, mounted 16[3] Guns, and 120 Men. These three Frigates were built within six months after his Honour's Arrival at *Bombay*.

I having, at my first Arrival in the Country, made a Voyage to *Muscat* in *Arabia*, and there took in a Freight of Horses, we proceeded for *Madrass*, and from thence to *Bengal*. We sold our Ship at *Madrass*, and sent her under another Command for *Bengal*: I then met with the *Stanhope*, who was come from *Persia* to *Bengal*, and was proceeding on a trading Voyage

[1] The attacks on the *Blenheim* and *Arabella* (commanded by Alexander Reid) have not been traced. That on the *Godolphin* seems to have taken place in 1710 (see p. 6), though there may have been a second.

[2] Port. *manchua* (from Malayālam *manji*), a single-masted vessel, much used on the Malabar coast. The reference is to the *Defiance*, which on p. 12 is called a small frigate.

[3] On p. 27 the number is given as eighteen.

for *Bombay*, with whom I came a Passenger. Hearing there was a Vacancy in the Hon. Company's Service, on board of their new-built Frigates, I humbly applied to the President, who gave me a Second Lieutenant's Commission in the *Fame* Frigate, Capt. *Peter Passwater* Commander. At this Time the President and Council thought proper to build a Wall round the City of *Bombay*, for the Security of the Inhabitants; they also built another large Grab or Frigate, which mounted 24 Guns. When I received my Commission from the President, the Frigate I was commissioned for was at *Carwar*; and the *Revenge* being bound to *Carwar* with Orders, I went in her, and was ordered by Governor *Taylor* [1] to take my Post. But I should have mentioned an Engagement we had by the Way: For having got the Length of *Cape Ramus*,[2] a head Land about 14 Leagues to the Northward of *Carwar*, we there met with the *Britannia* and the *Fame* coming up the Coast, in order to besiege a small Garrison about 10 or 12 Leagues further to the Northward. They had on board all these Frigates a Company of Marines commanded by Capt. *John* [3] *Stanton*, since for his good Behavior made Major of the Island of *Bombay*. We join'd them by Commodore *Weeks's* Order, and proceeded up to St. *George's* Island,[4] where we made several Combustibles, in order to fire the Town. The Place we were a going to besiege belong'd to King *Kemshew*,[5] who had very strong Fortifications, and several Vessels which were very troublesome to our small Craft that passed *Mangolore* to *Carwar* with Rice and other Conveniences for the Factory. This *Kemshew* was Brother-in-law to *Angria*, and they mutually supported each other. We exercised our People that Day on

[1] George Taylor was sent to Kārwār in December 1713, to take over charge from Miles Fleetwood.

[2] Cape Ramas, twenty miles north-westward of Kārwār Head.

[3] This should be 'Jonathan'.

[4] A group of three small islands, nearby connected at low tide, a little to the south of Marmagao headland.

[5] The dynasty of the Khem Sāvants still rules the state of Sāvantvādi, lying immediately to the northwards of Goa Territory. The state lost its seaboard to the British in 1812, but in Downing's time it possessed a long strip of coast. The ruling monarch was Phond Sāvant II, who had succeeded his uncle, Khem Sāvant II, in 1709.

the Island of St. *George*, and Capt. *Stanton* had the Marines on shore, and took a great deal of Care in disciplining them. The next Morning early we were off of the Place,[1] which was about seven Leagues to the Northward of *Goa* ; we run very near in to the Shore, and brought our Prow Guns to bear on the Castle, which was situated on a Hill ; and we soon found we did them considerable Damage. We then mann'd all our Galleywats, in order to land all our People ; but the Place was so rocky, and so great a Surf run, that we could not attempt it. We had 10 or 12 Galleywats, which are large Boats, as big as a *Gravesend* Tilt-boat, and generally mount six Swivel Guns, and will carry in the way of Landing near 100 Men. These Galleywats we make great use of ; they sail with a Peak Sail like the Mizen of any of our Ships of War, and row with 30 or 40 Oars ; very few with less than 20 Oars. Their Compliment is generally 20 fighting Men, besides the Rowers ; but they are fit for no other Service.

SO soon as we found the Place was no way convenient for landing our Forces, we made the best of our Way round to the Back of a small Fort to the Southward of the Frontier.[2] The Frigates kept a continual Fire on the Frontier and Castle, and they began to return the Fire ; but being seated on the top of a Hill, and not having Judgment enough in pointing their Guns, they did us no Damage. On the other Side of the Rock, we intended to land our People ; but we found there was no Possibility, the Rocks being so steep and high ; besides the Enemy appeared very numerous, and had mounted two Guns of a considerable Bigness amongst the Rocks, where they kept so smart a Fire, that we were obliged to make off with our Galleywats and come to an Anchor, till we saw whether the falling of the Water or abating of the Tide would prove to our advantage ; but we found it to no purpose, for we could not land our People. However, we continued, with

[1] As the name is nowhere given, it is to be presumed that the English did not know it. Col. Biddulph assumes that it was Vengurla, but this is much more than seven leagues north of Goa, and it has no fort answering to Downing's description. Rairi (Redi), in the extreme south of Ratnāgiri District, about 20 miles above Goa, seems much more likely. For a description of the fort, see the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. x, p. 369.

[2] The sea-front of the fort.

our Prow Guns from the Frigates, to batter their Fortifications, and dismounted the Cannon which fired upon our Shipping. The *Revenge* having brought an Express from the President of *Bombay*, with Orders for the two other Frigates to proceed to *Callicut*, and bring up Timber for the further building other Vessels at *Bombay*; and finding it not feasible to land, we quitted the Siege, and that Night run down to *Carwar*, where we came to an Anchor, and went up to the Factory. I then delivered my Letter to the Governor, and was ordered on board the *Fame* as Second Lieutenant.

WE tarried here a short time, then proceeded to *Callicut*, where we were supplied with Timber by Governor *Adams*, Governor of the Company's Fort and Fortifications at *Tillicherry* and *Callicut*, 12 Leagues distant from each other. We lay here till the Beginning of *April* before we had got all our Timber in, and it being the latter End of the Season, we were the safer in what we did, as all the Enemies Vessels were now laid up. Governor *Adams* came on board and took a View of the Frigate as we lay in the Road, and very much approved of the President's taking so much Care to suppress the Pyrates. We had other Enemies to deal with on the Coast as well as *Angria*, and they likewise at War with each other; there were the *Mollwans*,[1] a People to the Northward of *Carwar*; the *Kemshews*, and the *Sangarians*,[2] a People to the Northward of *Gogo*,[3] who are troublesome to the *Surat* and *Bombay* Traders. Several *Dutchmen* who came to serve the *English* at *Bombay*, deserted from us, and got to *Angria*, to whom they were of great Service.

WE had troublesome Weather to beat up the Coast in, for the Northern Monsoons set in and blew very hard; insomuch

[1] The inhabitants of Mālvan, a port in the southern part of Ratnāgiri district, about 18 miles above Vengurla. The great Sivāji built there the fort of Sindhudurg, and made it his coast head-quarters. In 1713 it was ceded to the Kolhāpur chiefs, 'and under them became the head-quarters of the most active and destructive of the coast pirates' (*Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. x, p. 350).

[2] 'Sanganians' is meant. They inhabited the coast of Kāthiāwār and Cutch, Beyt being their principal centre.

[3] Gogo or Gogha, on the Kāthiāwār coast, in the Gulf of Cambay. 'Northward' is used in the sailor's sense.

that we all thought we should not have gain'd *Bombay*, but with great difficulty obtain'd it; and, as is customary, we hove up all our Ships and Vessels, to secure them from the Winter Storms, which begin in *May* to set in very violently.

AT our Arrival at *Bombay* we found the other new Grab or Frigate ready for launching, built after a very commodious manner, to mount 24 Guns, and to carry 180 Men.[1] The Command was given to Capt. *Alexander Hamilton* as Commodore, and Commander in chief of all the Company's Naval Force at *Bombay*, or on the Coast of *India*. Capt. *David Wilkie* was appointed Captain of the *Victory* under Commodore *Weekes*; who being sickly, was obliged to quit it for the sake of his Health, and Mr. *John Burleigh* [2] was appointed Captain of the *Britannia*, in his room; Capt. *Passwater* continued in the *Fame*, Capt. *Matthews* [3] in the *Defiance*. The *Revenge* was left at *Carwar*, to guard that Factory, and they were got up the River abreast the Factory, for their better Wintering.

WHILE we were making these Preparations, in order to prevent *Angria* in his Progress, we had an Account at *Bombay*, of a great Disturbance between the *Rodger*,[4] or King of *Carwar*, and the *English* Settlement there, on the following Occasion. A Ship belonging to Mr. *Bennet*,[5] an eminent Merchant at *Surat*, going down the Coast something later than ordinary, was drove ashore on a sandy Beach to the Northward of *Carwar*; on which they sent to Governor *Taylor*, for a Guard to fetch their Treasure into the Factory, amounting to near 15,000 *l.* all in iron'd Chests. A Serjeant, with a strong Party of Soldiers belonging to the Factory had fetch'd away the greatest Part; but afterwards the *Rodger* sent down his Forces

[1] She was launched on 26 August 1717, with due ceremony, and was named the *Victoria* (Downing's *Victory*). David Wilkie, who had been Hamilton's chief mate, had been appointed her commander on 18 June.

[2] The Bombay records give the name as John Bellew. On p. 27 Downing spells it 'Berlew'.

[3] 'Matthias' on p. 27, and in the Bombay records. His Christian name was William.

[4] The Sonda Rāja.

[5] A mistake for Bonnell (Jeremiah). The ship was named *Elizabeth*. Hamilton's account of the incident will be found at p. 265 of his first volume. He blames Taylor's indiscretion in interfering.

in order to seize the Ship as his Property, being cast away on his Coast, and stopp'd near six or seven Thousand Pounds of the Treasure; and to prevent their getting the Ship off again, he ordered his People to cut a Hole in her Bottom. This bred a War between the *Carwarans* and the *English*: The *Rodger* took the *English* Gentlemen that commanded the Ship, with their Supercargo, and confin'd them in Prison. In the mean time, Capt. *Woodward* was very active for the Safeguard of the Factory, and built a large floating Stage, and mounted several Guns on it, to tow up and down the Harbour as Occasion required, till further Assistance came. When the President and Council at *Bombay* heard this, they mann'd their Fleet, and sent them down to *Carwar*.[1] Commodore *Hamilton* hoisted his broad Pennant on board the *Britannia*, and took the *Morning Star*, Capt. *Upton*, and the *Thomas* Capt. *Holt*, with him. I was then ordered to go on board the *Thomas*, and there we took in Ammunition and Soldiers, as did the *Morning Star*, and took with us several Galleywats to land our Forces. The chief Command was given to Capt. *John Milford*,[2] Captain of the first Company of Grenadiers, and the next Command to Capt. *Stanton* Captain of the Marines. We had bad Weather in our Passage to *Carwar*; for the Commodore rolled both his Topmasts by the Board, which wounded several of his Men, and killed one

[1] The first letter from Kārwār, dated 4 June, was received on 3 July 1717. Nothing was done until a month later, when an answer was sent, promising assistance as soon as the weather permitted. On 5 August arrived another letter, saying that the factory was being bombarded and immediate help was necessary. Thereupon it was decided to hire the *Morning Star* and send her down with about 230 soldiers under Captain Midford. She sailed accordingly, with a sloop and five gallevats, on 26 August. In response to a further appeal for help, Hamilton was dispatched in the *Britannia* on 8 September, accompanied by the *Thomas* (under John Holt) and four gallevats, carrying a number of soldiers commanded by Captain Stanton. The *Victoria* and the *Defiance* followed on 14 September.

[2] His name was really Blacket Midford. He was a factor, in addition to his military rank. A Bombay letter to the Company of 21 January 1717 explained that he had been given a commission as lieutenant because he had been bred a soldier and, being a married man, could not live on his civil pay of £15 a year. Later he resumed his civil status, and he died on 4 October 1722 as Chief at Anjengo.

outright. After this, we all got safe into the Bay of *Carwar*, and came to an Anchor; when our Captain went on board the Commodore, and in the Afternoon sent Orders for me to weigh my Anchor, and to run in as far as possibly I could. I then fir'd two of our Guns, and found that they carried very well up into the Country amongst the Woods. The next Day, being the 15th or 16th [1] of *September* 1716, we began to land our Forces at Day-break, but there run so violent a Surf on the Beach, that two of our Galleywats drove ashore and overset: Capt. *Milford* and part of his Company got a-shore, and Capt. *Stanton* was taken up for dead in the Water. The Enemy perceiving so small a Number of Forces, issued out of the Wood with a Party of Horse, and notwithstanding our keeping a smart Fire upon them, they rush'd amongst our half-drowned Forces, whose Ammunition was wet and unfit for Execution, so that they were forced to fight Sword in Hand. During which time Capt. *Milford* made a gallant Defence; for he and his Serjeant Mr. *Hill*, fought till they were cut and mangled very much, and then taken Prisoners, with twenty of his Company, and near forty *Topasis*,[2] or black Foot Soldiers, who are under the same Discipline at *Bombay*, as the marching Regiments. The *Rodger* ordered all the *Topasis* Noses to be cut off; and as for Capt. *Milford* and his Serjeant, he would fain have prevailed with them to take on in his Service, sometimes treating them civilly, and at other times threatning to cut off their Heads. We soon dispatch'd Letters for *Bombay* for Assistance; and accordingly the whole Fleet, and near 2000 Men [3] of Land Forces were sent down under the Command of Capt. *Gordon*, a gallant Gentleman.

WE landed our People about four o'Clock in the Morning, and got all our Forces drawn up in a hollow Square, and Capt. *Gordon* at their Head: In the Inside of this Square was a Surgeon and all Materials to dress the wounded Men. They march'd in this regular Form, and kept firing by Platoons,

[1] Really the 13th September, 1717.

[2] A well-known term for native soldiers, mostly of Portuguese descent and Christian profession.

[3] A great exaggeration. Hamilton says that, including the reinforcements, the soldiers and sailors numbered in all 2,250.

till Capt. *Gordon* received a Shot from the Enemy, which went through the uppermost Part of his left Breast. An Account being brought to Capt. *S——th,*[1] that Capt. *Gordon* was wounded, he gave Orders for the whole Army to face about, which so soon as the Enemy perceiv'd, a great Party of Horse issued out of the Wood, and soon got between them and the Water-side; so that they were obliged to fight their Way thro' to the Galleywats, to return to their respective Ships. The *Rodger* had cut off all manner of Communication between the Factory and us, for which purpose they had boom'd the River, and built a strong Platform of Guns on the South-side, to prevent all Boats passing and re-passing, tho' Lieutenant *Forbes* once or twice did boldly venture, and come out, in a Galleywat belonging to *Carwar*, and had several Hours Conference with the Commodore, in regard to what Condition the Factory was in, and how they had subsisted for Provision: For tho' the *Rodger* had made War with us, yet he was not at war with the *Portuguese*, who held a Correspondence with us. Our Factory was very well guarded by two Companies of Soldiers, and in every Room were mounted several Carriage-Guns, according to its Largeness; which Guns prov'd of great Service during the Siege, which lasted near seven Months. When the *Rodger* perceived our irregular military Discipline, he began to be very bold.

IN the Bay of *Carwar* are the following Islands, *viz.* The *Rodger's* Island,[2] which is fortified all round, and has some Cannon mounted, which they kept playing on our Shipping at several times during the Siege. But not knowing how to point a Piece of Cannon, did us little Damage. There is also *Kidd's* Island, where Capt. *Kidd* refitted and hove down. On the Westermost Part are two Stone Islands, surrounded with a great Number of Rocks, which are called *Duckly Islands* and *Rocks.*[3] To the South Part of the Bay is a large moun-

[1] An officer named William Smith signed the account given to the Company by Hamilton and the rest.

[2] This was Kurmagad Island, on which traces of the fortifications are still visible.

[3] Apparently these are the Oyster Rocks. The largest is called Deogarh, and this may explain the name given by Downing. On a later page he says that Kidd's island was 'Ducky Rock'.

tainous Land, very woody, at the upper End whereof is a fine sandy Cove, called *Bedcove* ;[1] and the Hills are called *Bedcove-Hills*. On the East Point of *Bedcove-Hills* is a small Island called *Injadavey*,[2] inhabited by the *Portuguese* : This Island produces great Plenty of Fowls and Hogs, tho' the Inhabitants are poor, and the Men, Women, and Children chiefly employ themselves in knitting Stockings, Waistcoats, and Breeches of the finest Cotton, which they sell at a very cheap Rate. The Harbour of *Carwar* lies in 14 Deg. 45 M. North Latitude, and in 73 Deg. 7 M. East Longitude from the Meridian of *London*. The Climate is pretty hot, but generally very healthy. There is a pleasant River at the Eastermost Part of the Bay, before which River there is a troublesome Bar to the Boats going in and out. The *English* Factory lies up the River, on the Star-board Side, about five or six Miles, from whence we receive Pepper, Cardamum, and other valuable Drugs.

WE lay in the Bay near two Months in Treaty with the *Rodger*, who insisted that we should quit our Factory, and have no further Trade there. We demanded the Return of the Treasure they had got, and would not draw off our Fleet without it. The *Rodger* no way liked the Sight of our Frigates in his Harbour, for we kept them cruising off and on, daily looking out for the trading Vessels which pass'd and re-pass'd, and belong'd to the *Rodger*, and *Kemshew*, the Person of whom I spoke before. The *Rodger* had two large Ships gone for *Muscat* in *Arabia*, to fetch Horses, and other Goods, which are of great Value in those Parts, and he was in pain for these Ships ; for they each had a hundred fine Horses on board. As soon as they came off the Harbour's Mouth, we made them our Prizes, till such time as the *Rodger* thought proper to agree to a stedfast Confirmation of Peace, and to return all the Treasure and Prisoners he had in his Custody, and to make Restitution for cutting a Hole in the Ship's Bottom. Thus we brought the *Rodger* to comply with all our Demands, and a Treaty of Peace was sent up to the President of *Bombay*, and approved by him and the Council.

[1] Baitkul Cove, an old name for which was Batt Cove.

[2] Anjidiv, the island on which Sir Abraham Shipman's force had waited for the Portuguese to hand over Bombay.

WHILE we had the Ships in custody, a Cesssation of Arms was observ'd, and a free Correspondence pass'd and repass'd from our Factory, and we recruited all Stores used for the Siege, and strengthened the Factory with all Things necessary for their future Safety. During the Cessation of Arms, I was ordered with Capt. *Holt*, on board the *Thomas*, to proceed to *Mangalore*, to fetch Rice for the Fleet. The Captain went on shore to purchase sufficient for our Freight, and that of another large Vessel we had there. As the Captain was to continue some time on shore, he took a House for the better trafficking with the Merchants ; and as he lived on shore, he sent off all Things necessary for the Ships while they were taking in their Cargo. I had no sooner got the Ship ready to take in Rice, but early one Morning I saw several large Vessels coming into the Road ; and having no *English* on board but the second Mate, Mr. *William Trouton* [1] (a young Gentleman who has since been a Merchant at *Madrass*) I asked our Black Boatswain if he knew who they belong'd to ? he said, so soon as he could see more plainly he would tell me. They lay off and on in the Offin till near Noon, and then the Sea-Breeze coming in, they came down on us with tearing Sail into the Road. We had put ourselves in as good a Posture of Defence at that time as we could ; we had but ten small Guns on board ; none carrying above a three-pound Shot : However, long before they came into the Road, our Black Boatswain told me they were *Angria's* Grabs ; there were five of them, stout Vessels, well mann'd, and large Guns on board. So soon as they came into the Road, they never offered to fire at us, but sent their Boats on board ; for as yet we were at peace with *Angria*, by Contract made at the Redemption of Mrs. *Gifford* ; and that Peace had been renewed by Governor *Boone* at his Arrival at *Bombay*. So soon as they came on board, they took the Second Mate and me out of our Ship, and carried us on board their Commodore ; who ordered them to take the Second Mate, Mr. *Trouton*, and to carry him to their Long-boat, and moor him off at the Buoy. My Heart began to ach, not knowing

[1] The name of William Troughton occurs in lists of seafaring men at Madras in 1717, 1726, 1727, but then disappears. He was probably a son of Zouch Troughton, a factor at Madras.

what they intended to do with me. Then they ask'd where we belong'd to, or whether we had a Pass from the Governor of *Bombay* ; I told them yes, tho' I did not at that time rightly know so much. They never offered to misuse us, nor do us any manner of Harm ; only detained us four or five Hours, while they sent on board and rummaged the Ship all over. What they look'd for, I can't say ; but believe it was our Treasure, which was sent on shore two Days before. When our Captain from the Shore perceived what was the Matter, he made the best of his Way to us, I having sent our Boat on shore, to acquaint him what I judg'd them to be when I first saw them in the Ocean, and had got all Things ready to have gone into the Harbour, provided the Captain had sent off a Pilot. But he did not fear any Danger, as he told me afterward ; on which account he did neither come himself at first nor send a Pilot. However, I was very uneasy during the Time I was in their custody ; and Mr. *Trouton* often told me, that had not the Sea-Breeze been very fresh, he would certainly have attempted to swim on shore. But the Captain came off, and on Enquiry of the Black Boatswain of the other small Vessels that lay in the Harbour, they happened to have one of Governor *Boone's* Passes, which were appointed on the renewing the Peace to be granted to all Vessels belonging to *Bombay* : For tho' *Angria* made Peace with the Inhabitants of *Bombay*, he took all the Ships he could belonging to *Madrass* and *Bengal* ; which gave us a proper Opportunity of making War again. They releas'd us soon after the Captain came off with the Pass, and our Colours were kept flying all the while they continued in the Road. In the Evening they weighed, when the Land-winds came off, and offered us no farther Molestation.

WE were heartily glad when we got clear of *Angria*, and took in our Freight of Rice with all possible Expedition. When we had loaded the other Vessel with Rice also, the Captain not willing to trust her alone, put me in Command of her, with Orders to keep him company to *Carwar*. However, we sailed so heavily, that after we had been but two Days out of *Mangolore* Road, I lost company with him. *Mangolore* lies in about 12 Deg. 40 Min. North Latitude, and is a Place much frequented by Ships from all Parts of *India*, for their great

Product of Rice. The *Moors* and *Portuguese* have each a Factory here for procuring the Markets of Rice, against the *Portuguese* Grand *Armada* arrive from *Goa*, and the *Moors* Ships from *Surat*, and other Parts of *India*. The *Arabians* trade much here, and the *Turks* which belong to *India* have Ships of great Burden and Force which come hither yearly. The *Turks* and *Arabians* are at War with the *Portuguese*, on which account the *Portuguese* have three or four 60 and 70 Gun Ships at these Seasons of the Year, cruising off and on the Coast of *Malabar* and *India*, for the Security of their Trade from *China* and other Parts. They are obliged to coast along Shore from *Cape Commeron* to their capital City of *Goa*.

DURING the Time of the Disturbance at *Carwar*, Governor *Adams* had some Quarrels with the *Neyers* of *Tillicherry* ; but the Governor by his own Regular Conduct soon settled those Disputes. The Vessel I commanded was about 90 Tun, no Guns nor Arms on board, but I was in hopes on my Arrival at *Carwar*, to have found the Fleet ; but they were all sailed for *Bombay*, and Matters were settled and made easy : So that I went up to the Factory, and complained to Governor *Taylor* of the Vessel being so heavy, and that I had not a Gun or a Musket on board to keep off even an arm'd Boat. The *Mollwans* are our Enemies, the Vessels of *Kemshew* are the same ; and they never attempt to engage a Vessel but in a Calm. Whereupon the Governor of *Carwar* not willing to let me proceed up to *Bombay* in such a defenceless State, put on board two small Carriage Guns, and mounted six Swivel Guns in Stocks for me, and lent me four white Men to assist me, with Powder and Ball, and twelve Firelocks. These were of some Service to us ; for several Vessels made towards us, which we suspecting, fired at them so soon as they came within the Reach of our Guns, which made them alter their Course and leave us.

I was near six Weeks beating up to *Bombay*, never in more Vexation ; for this Vessel would neither wear nor stay, nor go well by or large : So that when-ever the Sea-wind blew fresh at N.W. I was forced to run in with the Land, and come to an Anchor. About a Week before we arrived at *Bombay*, our Provisions grew short, and we had no Supply except what

we got from the Fishermen in the way of Truck, by giving them Rice or Salt for Fish.

I narrowly missed *Angria's* Grabs again; for before my Arrival at *Bombay*, he and the *English* had broke out into War on the following Occasion. The *Anne* of *Bengal*, formerly called the *Sherborn*, whom Capt. *Henry Cornwall* commanded, had been taken by the *French* [1] in her homeward Passage for *England*, carried back to *Bengal*, and there sold to the *English* Merchants. This Ship now belong'd to Mr. *Crewganwell*, an eminent *Bengal* Merchant, who was coming from *Surat* to *Bombay*, to dispose of some Merchant Goods he had on board this Ship. *Angria's* Grabs beat up the Coast with all speed, took the said Mr. *Crewganwell's* Ship, Capt. *Wade* Commander, with several *English* they had on board. They mounted 18 Guns, and made a tolerable Defence for four or five Hours, when they boarded and carried them.. At that time our Fleet was beating up from *Carwar*, and could not come to their Assistance. As *Angria* was at peace with the Island of *Bombay*, he imagin'd we should not concern our selves with the Shipping of *Bengal* and *Madrass*. As for Capt. *Wade*, he, with the chief Mate and Boatswain were sent to *Golabey*, and Mr. *Crewganwell* to *Gerey*; which is the chief Harbour he has for Strength. However, the Boatswain and two more of the Men made their Escape to *Bombay*, and gave an Account of the whole Affair. The President and Council had several Consultations concerning setting the said Prisoners at Liberty by Force of Arms; we being now very strong at Sea: For during our Engagements and Sieges at *Carwar*, the Company's Carpenter at *Bombay* had built for the Merchants Service, the *Charles Galley* for the *Bengal* Trade, and the *Boone* Frigate for the *China* Trade; the former, Capt. *Upton*, and the latter, Capt. *Thomas Boone*,[2]

[1] On 17 April 1712; see Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, vol. ii, part i, pp. xiv, 351, &c. An account of Captain Cornwall will be found at p. 336 of the same volume. No mention has been found in the Bombay records of the capture by Angria of a vessel named the *Anne*. It looks as though the reference is to the capture of the *Charlotte* in 1720, and that by 'Crewganwell' is meant her owner, Mr. Curgenven, who was kept a prisoner by the Marāthas for nearly ten years.

[2] See my article on the Boone family in *Journal of Indian History*, May, 1923.

Esq ; Brother to the President, Commander. At our Arrival at *Bombay*, we had great Removals amongst the Officers of the Fleet ; Commodore *Hamilton* laid down his Commission, designing to follow the mercantile trading Business ; Capt. *Wilkie* did the same, and went to *Bengal* in the *Charles Galley*, which Ship he afterwards commanded ; and Capt. *Hamilton* went Supercargo to *China* with Capt. *Boone*. They also built two Row-Galleys, the one of 24 Oars, and the other of 18, each carrying 10 Guns in the Waist, and two Guns of six-pound Shot in their Prow. So that our Fleet was as follows.

Ships Names.	Captains.	Guns.	Men.
Victory	Capt. *John Berlew*	24	200
Britannia	Capt. *James Forbes*	18	180
Revenge	Capt. *Woodward*	18	180
Fame Galley	Capt. *Passwater*	16	150
Hunter Galley	Capt. *Samms*	12	80
Defiance	Capt. *Matthias*	14	90
Hawk Galley	Capt. *Herring*	14	90

The Salamander Fire-Ship, Capt. Daniel.
The Terrible Bomb, Capt. Greenwood.

Eagle Galley	Capt. *Mertin* [1]	16	140
Princess Amelia	Capt. *Bull*	16	140
Tyger Galleywat	Capt. *Williams*	8	60
Antelope	Lieut. *Carlisle*	8	50
Fly	Lieut. *Affleck*	8	60
Hound	Lieut. *Lee*	8	60
Swift	Lieut. *Ward*	8	50
Weasel	Lieut. *Woodward*	6	50
Ferret	Lieut. *Johnson*	8	60
Squirrel	Lieut. *Brown*	6	50
Drake	Lieut. *Hawkins*	6	50
Leopard	Lieut. *Hermond*	6	50

Every one of these had two other Sail of Galleywats under their Command, and ten white Men on board their own Galleywats. In Grabs and Frigates, of large Rates, they have,

[1] He is called Martin on p. 49.

besides their own Complement, a Company of Marines, with a Commission Officer, a Serjeant and two Corporals.

NOW we were preparing all Things for the Siege of the Castle of *Gerey*: We sent to *Gogo*, and had fifteen hundred of their Men at Arms; and near 25 hundred well-disciplin'd Men at *Bombay*, who were put under the Command of Capt. *Gordon*, and Capt. *Stanton*, who were recovered of the Wounds they received at *Carwar*. The *Morrice* and *Duke of York*, Capt. *Peachy*,[1] and Capt. *Daws* were arrived at *Bombay*, and now the Year 1717 [2] we were making all Dispatch for the Siege; but the same was deferred till the President of *Bombay* had been up to *Surat*, to settle some of the Company's Affairs: So that the Siege was delay'd near six Weeks. In the mean time, we were cruising up and down the Coast; for this was the time for all the Merchants Shipping to come from *Bengal*, to supply the Coast with Sugars and other Merchandise. Amongst the rest, was Capt. *Botham* [3] of *Stoke-Newington*, who then commanded the *Dalbin*, a Ship of 600 Tuns, belonging to Mr. *Hart*, Mr. *Trenchfield*, and Mr. *Franklin*,[4] Merchants and Council for the Company at *Bengal*; the *Great George* of *Madrass*, Capt. *Tooley*,[5] belonging to Governor *Harrison*;[6] and the *Samuel* of *Madrass*, the *Barrington*, the *Oxford*, and

[1] The commander of the *Morrice* was Eustace Peacock (cf. p. 36), and that of the *Duke of York* Abraham Dawes. The former reached Bombay 19 December 1717, and the latter on the 30th of the same month.

[2] Old Style. Boone sailed for Surat on 7 February and returned on 21 March 1718.

[3] Charles Boddam. His ship was the *Dolben* (probably named after a Madras merchant). He belonged to Madras, and in 1716 married there Mary, daughter of Rawson Hart. Their two sons, Charles and Rawson Hart, entered the Madras and Bombay civil services respectively; the former rose to be a Member of Council (and afterwards a Director), while the latter became Governor of Bombay.

[4] Hart is probably Rawson Hart, though he belonged to Madras, not Bengal. Trenchfield may have been John Trenchfield, who went out to Bengal in 1715 and traded there as a free merchant. Downing may have confused him with Richard Trenchfield, who was a member of the Bengal Council earlier, but died in 1699. Franklin is Henry Frankland, who became a member of the Council in December 1713, and was afterwards (1726–8) Governor of Fort William.

[5] Timothy Tully.

[6] Edward Harrison, Governor of Madras, 1711–17.

several other Ships of smaller Burden. They weigh'd from *Surat* on *March* 15, 1717,[1] and coming down to *Bombay*, the *Dalbin*, Capt. *Botham*, was cast away going into the Harbour.[2] The *Morrice* was dispatch'd with all speed for *Mocha*, the *Duke of York* for *Persia*, and the rest of the Merchant Ships for the Places they belong'd to.

IN *April* 1717,[3] we got all our Fleet together, and on the 10th of the same Instant, the President reviewed the Land-Forces on Shore ; and saw all Things put in good and sufficient Order. Major *Vane*, chief Engineer for the Company, had tried all the Mortars and Coehorns, then fitted and stock'd for the Expedition. Mr. *John Minins* was appointed chief Engineer for the Direction of these Mortars and Coehorns, which did great Service. We proceeded down the Coast for *Gerey*, which is not above twelve Hours Sail from *Bombay*, where we with all our Navy soon arriv'd, and run boldly into the Harbour, Capt. *Berlew* Commodore, and ranged a Line from the Easter-most Part of the Fortification, to the outer Part of the Harbour, keeping all our small Galleys and Galley-wats on the off-side under Shelter. But they had strong Fortifications on both sides ; so that we left our strongest Ships in the Harbour, to make a Breach in the Walls, in order to storm the Castle. The Rocks were very high, and so slippery, that one could hardly stand without a Staff, and consequently not a Place convenient to draw Men up in any Posture of Defence. We endeavoured to get the Fireship in, but could not ; for on the East Part of the Fort they had a Cove or Creek, where they had laid up a great Part of their Fleet, and had got a strong Boom a-cross the same ; so that we could not annoy them any otherwise than by throwing our Bombs and Coehorns very thick into the Garrison, which we did for a considerable time, and were in hopes after the first and second Day's Siege, that we should have drove them out of that strong Castle, but we soon found that the Place was impregnable : For as we kept throwing our Shells as fast as we could in regular time, cooling our Chambers before we

[1] This is old style date, equivalent here to 1718.
[2] On 21 March 1718.
[3] As shown in the introduction, this date is quite wrong.

loaded again, after we had beat down two or three Houses in the Castle, the Shells fell on the Rocks in the Inside of the Castle, and their Weight and Force of falling would break them, without so much as their blowing up; which was supposed to be owing to the Fusee of the Shells burning too long. As to storming the Walls, they were so high, that our Scaling-Ladders would not near reach the Top of them.

THIS was the first Attack we made on *Angria's* Dominions, which we found almost impossible to succeed in. *Gerey* is very strong, and the Castle walled with Stone. We lay here four Days, and endeavoured to beat down the Castle with our Guns; but in vain. After the second Day we landed all our Forces, taking the Opportunity of the Tide, the Water rising and falling here as regular as in the River of *Thames*. We got them all on shore, and march'd up the Country, without Molestation; only now and then the Castle would let fly a Shot or two, which did us small damage. We attempted to march the Army down to their Shipping, and to set them on fire; but when we came within a Mile of the Place, the Land was all swampey, and so very muddy by the Spring Tides flowing over, that we could not proceed. On our Retreat they galled us very much, by firing from the Castle, we being obliged to come near the Castle-Walls, to take our Forces off again. Here the Gallant Captain *Gordon* was slightly wounded again. They never offered to bring any Number of Forces against us, but what they did was from the Castle, where they had several strong Platforms for Guns, but did not fire above one in an Hour. I question whether there were a hundred Men in the Castle, during the time of the Siege. They have no Town within three Miles of the Place, and it would have been irregular for us to have gone up to the Town before we were Masters of the Castle. Finding we could do nothing further, we drew off our Forces; for we had no Guides to conduct our Army, if we had gone further in the Country. Capt. *Henry Cornwall* was our chief Pilot in carrying us into the Harbour, to which there is a very fine Channel, and excellent anchoring Ground. The Country leads into the Grand *Sedey's* [1] Dominions, and is very fruitful, abounding with plenty of all

[1] See note on p. 8.

sorts of Grain and Fruit. The River *Gerey*[1] runs up near sixty or seventy Miles through a fine Country, tho' mountainous, well peopled, and of great Trade. *Angria* has never hitherto presumed to insult the *Dutch*, who have a Factory at *Dabull*, with a Fort well fortified. They build fine lofty Houses, and are very superstitious in uniforming their Citadels, which all properly belong to the Grand *Sedey*, the first Emperor of *India*.

WE drew off our Forces on the 18th of *April*, and went up to *Bombay*, to repair our Frigates, and take care of our wounded Men, of whom we had a considerable Number. The Harbour of *Gerey* would be of great service to the *English*, it being so commodious, and the Castle the strongest in those Parts.

SO soon as we got to *Bombay*, we sent all our wounded Men on shore; and amongst the rest was one Mr. *Stevenson*, a young Gentleman that had his Thigh shatter'd with the Prow-Gun on board the *Hunter Galley*, which split, and wounded several Men in a most dreadful manner, and three were killed out-right.

ALL our Fleet being arriv'd at *Bombay*, tho' some of them were much shattered, we got all our Grabs and Galleywats hove up on shore, in order to refit. We had not been at *Bombay* long, before a Dispute happened between the *Portuguese* and the *English*, on the *Portuguese* refusing to pay to the *English* the usual Duty; the Company being at the Expence of keeping several Forts guarded for the Security of Commerce.

GOVERNOR *Boone*, for the better Security of the *English* Inhabitants and their Families, built a Wall round the Town of *Bombay*, and fortified the same with a strong Guard, kept at *Mendon's* Point,[2] or the South Part of the Island, with strong Gates, and a large Bastion, on which they could mount 12 fine Cannon, and in the lower Part were four large Cannon that

[1] The Vāghotan river. It is only about forty miles long.

[2] Usually called Mendham's Point; the southern end of the island proper. There was a burying-ground here and, according to Fryer, it was so called 'from the first man's name there interr'd'. The tombs have long since disappeared, and Bombay has swept over the site, which was near the old Apollo Gate

commanded all the Harbour ; each carrying Shot of 48 Pound. The West and North Gates were as strongly fortified. The *Mandevey*[1] or Custom-house is near the Back of the Castle ; here all the Trade chiefly come, for the Supply of the Island, where they pay the Duties allotted by the chief Masters of the Customs, according to the ancient Form established by the *Portuguese*. For tho' the Island of *Bombay* is now very populous, yet of itself it is barren, and the *English* are the main Supporters of its Trade. But the *Portuguese*, contrary to the Contract on the Treaty of Marriage between King *Charles* the Second and *Catherine* Princess of *Portugal*, refused to deliver up the Island of *Bombay*, on which the Vice-roy of *Goa* was sent out with an Order to deliver it to the *English*.[2] This occasioning Delays, the Men of War and Transports were obliged to go to *Surat* to refresh their Men, after so long and fatiguing a Passage ; and arriving there, the Fleet put in at *Swalley-hole*, in order to remain there during the time of the Rains. The Soldiers which were in all about 900, expert and well disciplin'd Men, being drawn up in order to exercise, so frightned the *Moors*, that they sent the Commander word, that if he did not forthwith draw off all his Forces, they would directly put every one of the *English* to the Sword at *Surat*. On this they embark'd again, and went to *Injadavey*, a small Island near *Carwar* ; and the time of the Rains coming on, and the People being much fatigued, the President, with many of the Men, died of the bloody Flux. News of this being brought to *England*, the King granted Letters Patent to the *East-India* Company, for their better promoting and establishing their Trade. Complaints were also sent to *Portugal*, concerning this Behaviour of the *Portuguese*, but before any further Orders came from *England*, Mr. *Cook*, who had been Secretary to the late deceased President and Commander, undertook to treat with the *Portuguese* ; offering to allow them a Liberty to trade, and to hold what Lands they possessed on the Island of *Bombay*, without any Interruption by the *English*. On this the *Portuguese* drew up Articles which

[1] Marāthi *māndavi*, a storehouse, and hence a custom-house.

[2] As before, this account of the transfer of Bombay to the English contains several inaccuracies.

were signed by the Vice-roy of *Goa*, the General of the North, and Mr. *Cook*; by which the *Portuguese* Boats were allowed to pass and repass without paying any Duty. But the *English* after they had got Possession of the Island of *Bombay*, compelled the *Portuguese* to pay a Duty on all Goods, which caused great Disputes, and King *Charles* II. was pleased to disallow Mr. *Cook's* Power to sign any Articles, as done without his Authority. These and other Circumstances caused frequent Wars with the *Portuguese* of the Eastern Dominions, who sided with *Angria*; allowing his Grabs to use their Harbours, and many of them enter Volunteers in *Angria's* Service.

ABOUT the middle of *June*,[1] which is the Height of Winter, or the time of the Rain, they gave Orders for their Boats to pass by our Fort at *Mayham*, without paying Custom to the *English*; the General of the North still insisting on the Articles sign'd by Mr. *Cook*, which our Company at this time had nothing to do with. One of their Boats running by, Mr. *Horne*[2] the *English* Chief at *Mayham* sent out a Galleywat to bring the *Portuguese* Boat to. Accordingly the Galleywat fired a Gun, which was soon return'd by the *Portuguese* Fort at *Bombas*,[3] opposite to *Mayham*, the River not being above Musket-shot over. The *English* soon answered their Shot, and they kept cannonading each other almost four Days.

[1] In this account Downing mixes up two distinct quarrels with the Portuguese. In 1716 the seizure by the latter of a boat cast away near Bāndra led to the dispatch of Mr. Bendall to negotiate a general settlement of differences. This was effected and an agreement was signed at the end of the year. After a while further difficulties arose and Robert Cowan (who was Governor later) was sent to Goa towards the end of 1720 to accommodate matters. The result was an arrangement with the Viceroy, which, however, did not last long, and in May 1722 actual hostilities took place. There was active cannonading between the Portuguese at Bāndra and the English at Māhīm, and in the following month the latter shelled Bāndra (an incident to which Downing refers). A little later, the Portuguese having erected batteries at 'Corleen' to command the channel, a force from Bombay landed and destroyed them. For a consecutive narrative of the controversies between the two nations on the subject see *A Description of the Port and Island of Bombay*, 1724.

[2] John Horne, factor, was in charge of the Māhīm custom-house in 1716, and later became a member of council.

[3] Bāndra, in Salsette, opposite to Māhīm, is meant.

Then we sent up some Mortars, which soon beat their Church and Town about their ears. However, Governor *Boone* sent Mr. *Bendall*[1] to the General of the North, in order to adjust this Affair, and to acquaint him that Mr. *Cook* had sign'd Articles without Power either from the King or Company. The President and Company also sent Mr. *Cowing* to the Viceroy of *Goa*, with Complaints of the Behaviour of the General of the North.

ABOUT this time, we had sent several large Boats up the River of *Tanner*,[2] to fetch Timber for building Shipping for the Company. These Boats were stopt by the *Portuguese* at *Tanner Fort*, and *Correnjar*;[3] whereupon the President ordered several of our Galleywats to be well mann'd, and sent with a large Party of Soldiers, up the said Rivers of *Correnjar* and *Tanner*, and demolished one of their Towns. On this the *Portuguese* built a strong Fort opposite to that of *Surey*,[4] to prevent the Communication of the Boats passing and re-passing with Provisions for the Island. However, we had a Supply, by sending a Convoy with such Boats as brought Provisions, and landing the same at the *Mandevey* or Custom-house.

THE Account Mr. *Bendall* brought was, that the General of the North still insisted on the Articles Mr. *Cook* had sign'd in 1684.[5] But Mr. *Cowing*[6] finding the Viceroy at *Goa* more condescending to agree in an amicable manner, the Viceroy sent Order to the General of the North, and the General of *Correnjar*, to surrender the *English* Boats they had stopt, and

[1] Ephraim Bendall had been a member of council at Surat under Sir John Gayer, and in 1708 was made third in council under Aislabie. In April 1711, however, the Company dismissed him, and he seems thereafter to have resided at Bombay as a private individual. In 1726 he was made one of the justices there, and he held that post until he went to England in the year following.

[2] Thāna River is the name of the creek running up the eastern side of the island of Salsette, past the town of Thāna, which had been fortified by the Portuguese. The claim of the latter to levy dues on English vessels using that channel was one of the principal causes of dispute.

[3] Karanja, an island south-east of Bombay, on the opposite side of the harbour. The Portuguese claimed to control access to those waters.

[4] Sewri, a little to the north of Bombay.

[5] The right date is 1665.

[6] Robert Cowan, for whom see the introduction.

for the future to pay such Customs as were allotted by the President and Council of *Bombay*.

WE were now making Preparation to lay Siege to *Kenerey*; which is a small Island lying in the Harbour's Mouth of *Bombay*, distant about nine Miles: The Latitude of this Island of *Bombay* being in 19 Deg. N. Lat. from the Equinoctial; *Surat* being in about 21 Deg. 30 M. which is 2 Deg. 30 M. difference of Latitude: So that *Surat* is near 50 Leagues to the Northward of *Bombay*, being for the most part a healthy Climate.

ON the 5th Day of *November* 1718, we began the Siege of *Kenerey*: But first I must relate the Entertainment which was given by the President of *Bombay* to one *Manuel de Castro*, a Renegade *Portuguese*, who had been in *Angria's* Service, but having misbehaved, durst not return to any of the Dominions of *Portugal*. This Man coming to *Bombay*, made Application to the President and Council to be employed; giving an Account of all *Angria's* Fortifications, and undertaking to conduct the Fleet into any of *Angria's* Harbours. This Fellow the President appointed as Admiral [1] over all the Company's Galleywats, with full Power and Authority to burn, sink, take, or destroy all such as should presume to interrupt any of the Company's Ships trading in the high Seas of *India*, &c. Several of the *English* Captains of the Galleywats resented this very much, and refused to be under his Command, taking him to be a Fellow of a very indifferent Character; which was unknown to the President, who acted with all possible Zeal for the Success of our Undertaking. However, when the Governor understood that the *English* were displeased at this, he ordered the Commodore of the Men of War to appoint every Grab or Man of War, the proper Number of Galleywats to attend the respective Ship, and they had all their particular Signals: The Commodore had likewise the Command of five of the smaller of the Galleywats. This Fellow was with us at the Siege of *Carwar*, and did not behave himself any way worthy of the Post conferred on him.

IN the latter End of *September*, the *Stanhope*, *Addison* and *Dartmouth* arrived with near 300 Soldiers [2] from the Company

[1] No trace of this appointment has been found in the consultations.
[2] Only 113 were in fact sent.

in *London*, and Stores and Ammunition of all Sorts, which came in good time. We had lying in the Road seven Sail of *European* Ships, two Country Merchant Ships, and the Navy Frigates at this time, *viz.* The *Morrice*, Capt. *Eustace Peacock* ; the *Stanhope*, Capt. *Wentworth George Pits* ; the *Desbouvery*, Capt. *Gossel* ;[1] the *Addison*, Capt. *Hicks* ;[2] the two latter Captains died in *Bombay*, and their chief Mates succeeded them ; the *Cardonnel*, Capt. *Mawson* ; the *Dartmouth*, Capt. *Carter* ; and the *Duke of York*, Capt. *Laws*.[3] The *Cardonnel* was homeward bound, but had run over from *Mocha*, to fill her Water at *Bombay*. The *Morrice* was bound up for *Surat*, so was the *Stanhope*, and *Desbouvery* for *Persia*. After they were dispatch'd for their respective Voyages, the President ordered the *Addison* and *Dartmouth* to assist in carrying on the Attack of the Island of *Kenerey*, and to take on board all such Things as were thought convenient for the Siege. The Soldiers were put on board the said Ships, with Ammunition, Scaling-Ladders, *&c.* And for the farther Encouragement of the Forces, the President hoisted his Flag on board the *Addison*, on the third[4] of *November* 1718. Having all our Men of War, Bombs, and Fire-ships, with near 2500 Men, we anchored to the southward of *Kenerey*, in about an Hour and a half after we left *Bombay* ; and on the fourth we rowed round the Island, to find a convenient Place for landing our Forces, which was in the sandy Cove before mentioned.

NEXT Morning early, being the 5th of *November*, we brought the *Victory*, *Revenge* and *Fame* Frigates a-breast the Front work of the said Island, and bringing a Spring on our Cables, hove our Broad-sides to face the said Works. By four in the Morning we began our Attack, and kept a continual Fire till eight a-clock the same Night ; in which time we often dismounted their Cannon, which they played very hot upon us till four in the Afternoon, when the Enemy left off firing, and continued quiet all the next Day. The President thought

[1] Thomas Wotton was the commander of the *Bouverie* (or *Desbouverie*), and he did not die during the voyage.

[2] Captain Zachary Hicks died on the evening of his arrival at Bombay (7 September 1718), and was succeeded by Richard Gosfright.

[3] An error for Dawes (see p. 28).

[4] This should be 'first'.

proper to have a good Guard in the Night before the Mouth of the Cove, lest any of the *Angrian* Galleywats should supply the Besieged with Ammunition; we supposing, as they desisted from firing, that their Ammunition was quite spent. The Admiral of our Galleywats was ordered to lie with his five Sail at the Mouth of the Cove, to prevent the Enemy's receiving any Supplies, notwithstanding which, five Sail of the *Angrian* Galleywats got into the Cove, with Ammunition and Provision. On the sixth Day we lay still, and sent our wounded Men to the Hospital at *Bombay*. The same Evening the *Morrice* returned from *Surat*, and join'd the Fleet. The President gave Notice, that if any would go Volunteers for the next Day's Service, they should be paid at their Arrival at *Bombay* 40 *Rupees*, which is about 5 *l. Sterl.* and whoever should lose a Leg or an Arm in the said Expedition, should have 30 *l.* paid by the Company at their Arrival in *London*, and be employed in their Service during Life. This Encouragement procured forty Volunteers. As to those who had Wives and Families, or other Friends, provided they lost their Lives in the said Expedition, their Widows should receive 30 *l.* and 10 *l.* for every Child. Amongst the Volunteers was Mr. *Gideon Russel*, Nephew to the late Admiral *Russel*, who commanded the Seamen for that Day's Attack, myself bearing the second Command; and Mr. *John Steele*, Carpenter's Mate on board the *Morrice*, made choice of his broad Axe for his Weapon, and performed a brave Action, which shall be related presently.

EARLY the next Morning we got all our Forces, both Soldiers and Seamen in our Galleywats, in order to land; but the Tide proved so high, that we were forced to lie off. The *Britannia*, *Fame*, and *Revenge* were ordered to keep the Enemy from firing upon the Galleywats in landing the Forces. We lost that Morning before we landed, near 60 Men, besides the wounded; and about nine o'clock we got all our People into the Boats. Mr. *Russel* was in the *Morrice's* Barge, and led the Van; Mr. *John Steele* at the same time rowed in the Boat, as one of the Boat's Crew. They were no sooner on shore, but they discovered the Treachery of our *Portuguese* Admiral, who was to guard the Mouth of the Cove; for we found two of our Galleywats lie up in the Beach before the

Castle-Gate. Mr. *Steele*, with our Seamen were striving to storm the Place, and behaved very gallantly, but the Enemy kept a smart Fire on us from the two Bastions, which galled us very much ; and I was no sooner on shore with my Men, but they killed me sixteen outright, tho' I received no Wound the whole time of the Siege. I presently met Mr. *Steele* supporting Mr. *Russel*, with another of the Boat's Crew to assist him ; he was very much wounded, and desired to be put on board the *Victory*, and there taken care of by our Surgeons, who tried all their Skill in vain ; for he died the next Morning. About four o'clock we had made so good a Progress, as gave hopes of Success : Mr. *Steele* with his broad Axe had cut the Bar which went across the outer Part of the Gate almost asunder ; and had he been supported as he ought to have been, we certainly should have carried our Point. Major *Stanton* gallantly behaved himself, and encouraged the People by his Example ; tho' two Military Captains did quite otherwise ; one threw his Sword down in the Bottom of the Boat, which was carried to the President, who, after we came to *Bombay*, ordered him to be broke at the Head of the three Regiments : the other was something more couragious than the former ; for he came boldly up to the Gates, and presented a Pistol with a Design to blow off the Lock, Bolts and Bar on the Inside ; but the Ball rebounded back in his Face, and wounded him on one Side the Nose ; whereupon he ordered the Drums to beat a Retreat : So that in a few Minutes I was left on shore, with only the Cockswain of the *Morrice's* Boat, *Samuel Green*, and *James Cradock* (who lives now at *Deptford*) and was shot in the Nape of his Neck ; a Serjeant of the Marines, and a young Gentleman Volunteer, to whom the President after gave a Commission. There were many of the Land and Sea-Officers wounded, and several of our Men killed, or rather massacred, when they made this sudden Retreat. We that were left behind, had but two Boats near shore, and one of them a-ground ; the Enemy still kept a continual Fire on us, which we returned as fast as we were able to load, as we row'd off.

THIS ill Success was a great Trouble to the President, who did all in his power to suppress this notorious Pyrate. We

were obliged to get up our Anchor, and to drive off with the Tide, the Day being near spent. Indeed, we were by some ill Conduct or Treachery defeated in all our Undertakings: For if there happened some of Courage and Resolution to lead a Party on any Expedition, they seldom had a second to back them if they chanced to be wounded. As the President and Council could do no more at this Season, till further Preparations were made, the Governor was resolved not to be idle: Therefore, at his Return to *Bombay*, he gave Orders[1] for the building a floating Castle, or a Machine that should be almost Cannon-proof. This Vessel was pretty flat, flowed with little or no Bulge, and but six Foot Hold; the Thickness of her Sides were made by the nicest Composition Cannon-proof. She was to go with one Mast, and a Top-sail, which was rigged in a very commodious manner, and mounted 12 Guns, carrying 48 Pounders, and of course must have proved of great Service to us, against any of those Castles which we could approach near enough to cannonade. This floating Machine was called, *The Prahm*; tho' the Account I shall give of her Demolition, will be pretty surprizing. The Governor dispatched the *Morrice* and *Stanhope* with all speed for *England*, and by them gave an Account of our Proceedings with *Angria*. So soon as we came up to *Bombay*, our *Portuguese* Admiral was had before the President and Council, and accused of letting *Angria's* Galleywats into the Cove in the Night. The Fact was plainly proved by the *Kenereys* that rowed in his Galleywat, who were Inhabitants of *Bombay*. On which, the Company,[2] to prevent his farther Treachery, sent him handcuffed on board the *Morrice*, Capt. *Peacock*, with Orders to leave him a Slave to the Company during his Life on the Island of *St. Helena*.[3]

THE *Morrice* was in a Readiness for sailing some time before the *Stanhope* returned from *Surat*, and had got three

[1] In a letter of 20 December 1718 Boone informed the Company that he had built a 'prahm' [i.e. flat-bottomed boat] to carry twelve 32-pounders (*Bombay Abstracts*, vol. i, p. 316). The order must therefore have been given some time before the expedition to Khānderi.

[2] Council? The trial is not mentioned in the records.

[3] The St. Helena records note the arrival of the *Morrice* on 24 May 1719, with five persons as prisoners, to be employed on the island.

times under Sail, but was obliged to put back again for fear of *Angria's* Grabs, who lay in wait for them. They having got the better of us in the late Attack, came from *Golaby* with their Grabs to the Island of *Kenerey*, where they spent some Days in great Rejoicings, laid in Plenty of all manner of Stores and Ammunition to frustrate any future Siege. On the Arrival of the *Morrice* and *Stanhope* in *England*, who gave an Account of the *Portuguese* taking this notorious Pyrate's part, and admitting his Sea-Forces into their Harbours, the Court of Directors fitted out the *St. George*, a Ship of Sixty Guns, which was to continue at *Bombay* as a Guard-ship for the Coast and Island of *Bombay*. At her Arrival there, she was put under the Command of Capt. *Harvey*, who was accounted a gallant Man: But endeavouring to lay her on shore to clear her Bottom, they soon made her unfit for Service, broke all her Floor-Timbers, and her Back; so that they were obliged to pull her to pieces.[1] Capt. *Lawson*, who came chief Mate or first Lieutenant of her, was made Captain of the *Victory*, in the room of Capt. *Burleigh*, who was made Superintendant of the Shipping of the Island, and of the Naval Stores. This Ship would have been of great Service, had not this Accident happened. Soon after we were to make another Attack at *Gerey*, and to have our floating Machine with us, as shall be related hereafter; but first I shall speak something concerning the Wars at *Anjango*.[2]

THE President having an Account of the Death of the Chief at *Anjango*, appointed Mr. *William Gifford* Governor of that

[1] The *St. George* was an ordinary East Indiaman of 450 tons burden, and had made at least three previous voyages to the East. She was bought by the Directors and sent out to Bombay at the close of 1719, with instructions that the seamen and sailors she carried were to be used in the Bombay Marine and the vessel herself sold, as soon as she could be dispensed with. John Harvey was appointed her captain before the start, not upon her arrival at Bombay; and it is unlikely that she carried as many as sixty guns. On 31 August 1720 the Bombay Council reported to the Company that 'the *St. George* is so crazy and rotten that, on bringing on shore to clean her bottom, she fell to pieces' (*Bombay Abstracts*, vol. i, p. 373).

[2] Colonel Biddulph, in a supplement to *The Pirates of Malabar*, gives a full account of the events here narrated. See also I. O. Records: *Factory Miscellaneous*, vols. xxi and xxii.

Garrison and Factory, belonging to the Company. At his Arrival [1] there, he took Possession, and had the Compliments of the Inhabitants paid to him with the utmost Respect. He had not long enjoyed this Place of Honour, before the following Accident happened. *Anjango* is inhabited by the *Neyors* and *Moccos*,[2] the ancient People of the Coast of *Malabar*. It lies near *Cape Commeron*, in 8 Deg. 15 Min. N. Lat. and has no other Shelter fo the Shipping than the open Road, tho' there is a small River which falls into the Sea, but not navigable for Shipping. This is the first Factory the *English* have on the Coast of *Malabar*, and their chief Product is Pepper of the finest Sort, and is distinguished from all other Pepper on the Coast of *Malabar*. Mr. *Gifford* was a Gentleman very well skilled in all manner of Merchandise in *India*, and had been Supercargo in several Voyages to divers Parts of *India* and *China* ; but however there happened to arise a great Dispute between the Natives of *Anjango*, and him, concerning the Price of Pepper, he thinking to beat down the common Price they used to sell for, and telling them that the Year before he came, the Company was charged no more than what he had offered *per Candey*, which is 60 Pound weight.[3] But they insisted on the contrary ; many Disputes arose, and Mr. *Gifford* pretended to go by the late Governor's Books, thereby to bring Things to his own Price, for the Company's Benefit. This the *Neyors* most heinously resented, and they being a very sly politick People, gave him an Invitation up the River in a friendly manner. He went up with a slight Guard with him, not suspecting any thing, accompanied by one or two of the Gentlemen of the Factory, in the Pleasure-Boat. On his Landing, they were ready to receive him, but in another manner than what he expected ; for so soon as they came up, they seized Mr. *Gifford*, and cut out his Tongue, and nailed it down

[1] Gifford, who, as already noted, had married Chown's widow, was sent to Anjengo in November 1717, but William Kiffin, the then Chief, did not give up charge until several months later. Kiffin had not died, as here stated.

[2] Nāyars and *Mukhavar*, the latter being the fishermen, boatmen, &c., sometimes called Muckwas.

[3] This is an error. Grose (*c*. 1760) gives the Anjengo candy as equivalent to 560 lb.

to his Breast, then made him fast to a Plank, and sent him floating down the River before the Fort, which they never presumed to come near.[1] This they did, to shew they were not to be imposed upon by Fraud, but were resolved not to suffer their Contract with the *English* on their first establishing a Fort there, to be eluded; which was to take their Pepper at a certain Price, provided the same proved good, and fit for the Market. They are a People that will not be imposed on, being of a warlike Disposition, and depend much on their Arms, very ambitious in their way, and never given to lye, or break their first Agreements.

SO soon as Mrs. *Gifford* had the News of this melancholy Tragedy, she was resolved to retire, and secure herself. Having pack'd up what Treasure there was in the Fort, and a smal Brigantine belonging to *Bengal* coming into the Road, she imbark'd on board of her, and proceeded to *Madrass*; where the Governor, supposing she had brought off the Company's Treasure as well as her own, detained her, and required her to deliver up the Company's Accounts, which she pretended were left in the Factory at *Anjango*. She insisted on coming to *England*, and to give the Company an Account of all things she had taken with her; pretending that the Company was indebted to her.

THE Court of Directors in the Year 1718,[2] was sending the yearly Shipping for the Support of their Factories abroad; the *Cassandra*, Capt. *Mackray*,[3] was taken up, with the *Green-*

[1] Gifford, accompanied by the other factors and a number of soldiers, went up to Attinga (four miles above Anjengo) on 11 April 1721, to ratify the peace and to pay the usual presents, which were long overdue. From the massacre that ensued only seventeen topasses, all wounded, escaped. The factory was then besieged; but thanks chiefly to the bravery of the gunner, Samuel Ince, the garrison held out until relieved by a force from Bombay in the following October. Mrs. Gifford, with other women and children, at the first alarm sailed to Madras in a country ship.

[2] This should be 1719. The two vessels sailed in the spring of 1720.

[3] James Macrae. The Directors were so much impressed by his gallant defence of his ship that on his return to England they sent him to Fort Marlborough (Sumatra) as Supravisor, thence to proceed to Fort St. David as Deputy Governor on the Coromandel Coast. He succeeded to the post of Governor of Madras in January 1725 and held

wich, Capt. *Kirby*, for the *Bombay* Service; and proceeded on their Voyage together to the Island of *Johanna*;[1] there they touch'd to take in Refreshments, there being all sorts in plenty on that Island, and the People of a very honest and easy Disposition. You may have here Fowls, Goats, and Bullocks at a very cheap Rate, with a Variety of Fruits and Roots for the Refreshment of those who have had a long and fatigueing Passage.

WE had an Account of certain Pyrates, who had been cruising off the *Red-Sea*, two of which happened to come into *Johanna* Road, just as Capt. *Mackray*, and Capt. *Kirby* were in a Readiness for sailing. These Pyrates were come off last from the Coast of *Guinea*, with a design to advance into the *Indian* Sea. They attack'd Capt. *Mackray*, who made a gallant Defence; but the *Greenwich*, Capt. *Kirby*, and a Ship belonging to *Ostend*, tho' present, never once offered to assist him, but sailed away as fast as they could.[2] The Pyrates were commanded by Capt. *England* and Capt. *Taylor*, who have done a great deal of Mischief in those Parts. After Capt. *Mackray* had made a very good Defence, they got the Victory by the *Cassandra's* unluckily driving on shore, where the Pyrates boarded and overpower'd them. Capt. *Mackray*, with most of his Crew, made their Escapes on shore, which so provoked the Pyrates, that they threatned to massacre every one of them. But after a Day or two past, they had a

that office until May 1730. He returned home with a large fortune, bought several estates in Scotland, and died in 1744.

[1] One of the Comoro Islands, between Madagascar and the mainland.

[2] The date of this event was 7 August 1720. Richard Kirby's log is at the India Office (no. 488 A). He admits that, seeing the *Cassandra* aground, though fighting bravely, he left her and made his escape. He says that the pirates were the *Victory*, a French-built ship of 46 guns, commanded by [Edward] England, and the *Fancy* (36 guns, Dutch-built) under [Jasper] Seager. Richard Lazenby, in his narrative (India Office: *Misc. Letters Recd.*, vol. xiii, no. 99), says that Seager had the chief command, while Taylor was in charge of the *Victory*. Macrae calls the leader England. As the latter was an assumed name, we may perhaps conclude that England and Seager were identical. A full account of the fight will be found in Mr. S. C. Hill's articles on *Piracy in the Indian Seas*, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1919–20. Macrae's narrative is given in Charles Johnson's *General History of the Pyrates* (2nd ed., vol. i, p. 119).

Consultation amongst themselves, and considering the gallant Behaviour of Capt. *Mackray*, and what a good Character he bore amongst his Men, they agreed to return him another Ship in the room of his own. They sent Messengers up into the Country to search for him, and Letters to assure him they would not hurt a Hair of his Head, but only satisfy him of their good Intentions towards him. On which account he ventured down, and they entertained him in a very handsome manner on board his own Ship, with the best of his own Liquors and Provisions. The Pyrates had a great Demur amongst themselves about giving Capt. *Mackray* the *Fancy*, in the room of the *Cassandra*; but Capt. *England* told them, that if they refused this, he would renounce his Command amongst them, and live a retired Life on some of those inhabited Islands. Capt. *England* being much beloved, they comply'd to this Proposal, tho' *Taylor* resented the same most bitterly, and vowed to be revenged on *England* for his Generosity. Accordingly they resigned the *Fancy* to Capt. *Mackray*. This was a fine *Dutch*-built Galley, which sailed very well, and was a Ship of good Burden. They gave him, besides the Ship, several Bales of Scarlet Cloth, and during the time of their Stay, they used him very handsomely; tho' they gave him only a short Stock of Provisions and Stores, hardly sufficient to carry him to *Bombay*; they well knowing in how long time they might run from *Johanna* thither, being at that time of the Year, when the Trade-winds favoured their Passage.

AT their Arrival at *Bombay*, the Relation of the *Cassandra's* being taken was so different from the Report that Capt. *Kirby* had made to the Governor concerning it, that he was ashamed of the Meanness of it, and took the same so much to heart, that in his going a Voyage to *Persia*, he died before he got there.[1]

NOW the *Barrington* was the first Ship in order for *England*, by whom Letters were dispatched concerning Capt. *Mackray's*

[1] The *Greenwich* reached Bombay on 3 September 1720, and Captain Macrae arrived on 26 October. The *Greenwich* proceeded to Persia, and Kirby died ashore at Gombroon on 29 August 1721. He was succeeded by John Barnes.

being taken.[1] The Captain had disposed of the Ship the Pyrates had given him at *Johanna*, to one Mr. *Wake* [2] a very eminent Merchant at *Bombay*; and also of his other Effects, and went home Passenger in the *Barrington*.[3] This News of the *Indian* Seas being incumbered with Pyrates of our Nation, so far alarmed the Court of Directors, as to petition the Crown to grant a Squadron of Men of War to be sent thither to suppress them, who for near two Years continued to infest those Parts. After Capt. *Mackray* parted with them, they went and cruised off the Straits of *Babelmondon*,[4] or the *Red-Sea*, and there they took a *Moors* Ship coming down from *India* richly laden.[5] Tho' Capt. *Mackray's* Ship had 75,000 *l.*[6] in ready Cash on board of the Company's Treasure, besides great Quantities of Bale Goods, with *European* Liquors of great Value, *&c.* yet this *Moors* Ship had more Value in Diamonds, Rubies, and Emeralds, with the richest of Drugs, and a great quantity of Balm of *Gilead*; all which these Pyrates made waste of, and suffered the same to lie exposed to the Wind and Weather on the Island of *St. Mary*.[7] There we found the Ruins of several Ships and their Cargoes piled up in great Heaps, consisting of the richest Spices and Drugs; all which they valued not: but Money, rich Silks, Diamonds, and other Jewels, they took care of; and all Eatables and

[1] The news went home by the *Tartar*. The *Barrington* did not return till 1723.

[2] The *Fancy* was the Company's property, not Macrae's. She was employed until the end of 1721, and was then sold by the Bombay Council to William Wake.

[3] Macrae appears to have gone home in the *Chandos*, which sailed at the end of January 1722. She was wrecked at the Cape of Good Hope, but those on board escaped to shore, and Macrae was in London by December of that year.

[4] Bab-el-Mandeb.

[5] This probably refers to the capture of a Surat vessel, bound for Jedda, on 18 August 1720; but that incident took place near Bombay, and the passengers were put ashore at Malabar Hill. The vessel and cargo were valued at twelve lakhs of rupees. See *Bombay Abstracts*, vol. i, p. 373.

[6] The *Cassandra's* invoice, which presumably included the treasure, amounted only to £40,472.

[7] This was the famous pirate rendezvous on what is now called Île-Sainte-Marie, on the eastern side of Madagascar, extending from 16° 4′ to 17° 6′ S. latitude.

Drinkables which they fancied. They made the Island of *Madagascar* their Rendezvous, where they committed all manner of Enormities, and every one did as his own vicious Heart directed him.

IN the Year 1719, the *London* and *Chandois* arrived at *Bombay*;[1] the former under the Command of Capt. *Upton*, and the latter under the Command of Capt. *Fazakerly*, who died either at *Bombay*, or in a Voyage to *Persia*. We had now an Account of the Disturbance at *Anjango*, of the Death of Mr. *Gifford*, and the Proceedings of Mrs. *Gifford* in taking care of her Affairs for her own Security.[2] The whole naval Forces of *Bombay* were all mann'd, and our floating Engine or Machine along with us; and the *London*, Capt. *Upton*, was ordered to receive Mr. *Brown*, one of the Council of *Bombay*, on board, in order to rectify all Affairs in behalf of the Company's Settlement at *Anjango*, and to hoist the Union Flag at their main Topmast-head. They were likewise to go in quest of the Pyrates, *Taylor* and *England*, who after they had taken the *India* Ship belonging to the *Moors*, proceeded for the Island of *Domascaicus*,[3] in order to have some clandestine Dealing with the *French*, who inhabit that Island, and are suspected of trading with such Pyrates. They also, as we understood afterward, intended to winter there, under Pretence of being *English East-India-Men*. But coming into the Road,

[1] The *London* and *Chandos* reached Bombay on 26 August 1720 (not 1719). The former was commanded by William Upton, and the latter by Thomas Gilbert. William Fazakerly was the chief supercargo of the *Carnarvon*, which started for China the same season as these two ships.

[2] As Gifford was not killed until April 1721 (see p. 42), the naval force could not have been sent out on that account. As a matter of fact, its object was to carry out a further attack on Gheria. This was made in September 1720; but it resulted only in the destruction of several of Angria's vessels (see *Bombay Abstracts*, vol. i, p. 376, the log of the *London*, and the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xxvi, part i, p. 152). Colonel Biddulph gives a full account of it in his *Pirates of Malabar* (p. 141). Walter Brown was in command. As noted in the introduction, some of the details agree with Downing's account on p. 28 of the attack which he says (wrongly) was made in 1717.

[3] The Portuguese called Réunion, Mauritius, and Rodriguez the Don Mascarenhas Islands, from the name of their discoverer; but the name was generally applied (as here) to the first of these.

and seeing a very large Ship there, they judg'd her to be richly laden, bound for *Europe*, belonging either to the *English*, *French*, *Dutch*, or *Portuguese*, and made Preparation to engage her. This Ship belong'd to the King of *Portugal*, and had the Viceroy of *Goa*[1] on board, who was then bound for *Lisbon*; but having lost their Passage round the *Cape*, had returned back to winter there. The Viceroy, and all the Head Officers and Gentlemen were ashore, and seeing an *English* built Ship coming in with *English* Colours, judged it to be a Ship under the same Misfortune as themselves, that had lost their Passage. The Pyrates had sent the other Ship which they had taken in *India*, to *St. Mary's* on the Island of *Madagascar*, and also the Brigantine, to get all Things in Readiness against they came, in order to heave down and clean their Ship for another Cruise. The *Portuguese* were preparing to salute them, or expected that they would do so, as soon as they came to an Anchor; but instead thereof, they came close along-side of them, and instead of firing by way of Salute, with *English* Colours flying, they poured in a Broadside on them, and then boarded them Sword in hand. The others having made no manner of Preparation to fight, and being a lumbered Ship, they soon compleated their Victory, and carried the Ship out of the Road directly; the Gentlemen on shore not being able to prevent them. When the Pyrates came to *St. Mary's*, they altered the Ship, and fitted her for mounting seventy Guns, and the *Cassandra* for forty Guns; this they did by the Help of Capt. *Mackray's* Carpenter's Mate, whom they forced along with them; and then destroyed all the other Ships they had taken. However, they soon refitted, and were resolved to make t'other Cruise on the Coast of *India*, as some say, in order wilfully to run their Ship on shore, and by that means save most part of their Treasure; and then settle amongst the *Moors* at *Surat*, or travel through the Country to some inland Places where the *Portuguese* inhabited.

The *London* with the *Victory* Grab, the *Revenge*, and *Britannia*, the *Defiance*, and *Prahm*, the great and mighty

[1] The Conde de Ericeira. He was left on the island, after paying a ransom. For contemporary accounts see Mr. Hill's articles, referred to above.

floating Machine, which the *Revenge* had in Tow, after having been and settled all the Company's Affairs at *Anjango*,[1] were returning up the Coast off of *Mount Delle*,[2] about seven Leagues to the Northward of *Tillicherry* (where the Honourable *Robert Adams*, Esq; was then Governor) the Fleet plying to windward, early in the Morning, fell in with the *Cassandra* and *Victory*, which was the Ship the Pyrates had taken from the *Portuguese*, and named so. The Night before, the Fleet had been very much scattered, and early in the Morning those two Ships falling in with the Fleet, they thought that the large Ship was the *London*. The *Victory* Grab coming under her Stern, thinking she seemed too large for the *London* (tho' the *London* was a very large Ship) haled them in *English*, and asked what Ship that was? They answered, the *Victory*. They then thought it had been the *London*, and huzza'd, and asked them what they wanted? The Pyrate *Victory* haled the Grab, and asked what Ship that was? They answered, the *Victory*. By which they knew they had got in the midst of the *Bombay* Fleet; and the Pyrates reported afterward, that at that time they could have taken them with all the Ease imaginable. In the mean time the *London* came up, and asked what was the Matter? The *Victory* Pyrate discharged a Broad-side at the other *Victory*, who never fired at her again, and the Pyrate told them at the same time, that the other Ship was the *Cassandra*. There was such Confusion on board the *London*, that all the Ship was in an Uproar, and Capt. *Upton* frighted very much. By this time it was Sun-rising, little Winds, and close under the Land; where they were obliged to lie all of a heap together, till the Land-breeze came off to separate them. In the mean time, the Pyrates got all things ready to engage. But Capt. *Upton*, so soon as the Land-breeze came off, was resolved not to fight, without Mr. *Brown*'s Orders, who had a Commission from Governor *Boone* to hoist the

[1] The fleet was returning from the attack on Gheria, already mentioned. The skirmish with the pirates took place on 22 and 23 October 1720. For a narrative of it, see the log of the *London*, and *Bombay Abstracts*, vol. i, p. 376. Downing's account is of course only hearsay; but there is no doubt that Brown's squadron behaved in a cowardly manner.

[2] Mount Delly or D'Eli, a headland in 12° 2′ N. The fighting really occurred a little to the north of Gheria.

Union Flag. Capt. *Upton* also required Mr. *Brown* to give him Security on the Company for all Damages the Ship might sustain. The Ship's Company was very eager to engage; Mr. *Lyon*[1] (who at his Return to *England*, had a new Ship built for him, called the *Windham*) was then chief Mate of the *London*, and almost mad to see such ridiculous Proceedings. The Captain ordered a Man to the Mast-head to strike the Flag; the Fellow swore that he would send Flag-staff and all down with it. Accordingly he went up, and instead of striking the Flag, he drove the Fidd out, and let the Flag-staff run down amain. This made the Pyrates laugh in their Sleeve, tho' they did not well know how to venture to engage them; for they did not like the Looks of the *Bombay* Man of War. The Question was proposed, what should be done with the *Prahm* the *Revenge* had in Tow? and Orders were given to set her on fire; a fine Proof of Conduct after that the President and Council of *Bombay* had been at that great Expence in procuring an Invention for the better annoying the Enemy's Garrisons! They set her on fire accordingly, and she was entirely consumed; tho' all reasonable Persons must allow, that the Pyrates would never have thought it worth while to take a Vessel not fit to carry out of sight of Land, nor four Leagues off shore, in case of a Head-Sea. After this the Pyrates made off, without any further Attempt on our Ships.

THE Fleet soon after arrived at *Bombay*, and Order was given for making Preparation for another Siege against *Gerey*;[2] which accordingly we did, but had the usual ill Success in our Proceedings.

I shall now speak of a particular Sea-fight performed by two gallant Captains; which, had it not been for some unlucky Accident happening to both of them, they had certainly come off Conquerors. Capt. *Martin* in the *Eagle Galley*, and Capt. *Dogget* in the *Hunter Galley*, were some time after engaged with *Angria*'s Grabs off *Bombay*, and behaved so well, that there was a very great Probability of their succeeding. Capt. *Dogget* had three times boarded one of the biggest Grabs, and in attempting to board her the fourth time, they

[1] A mistake for [Robert] Lyell. He commanded the *Windham* from 1725. [2] As we have seen, this expedition had already taken place.

blew up, and every Soul of them perished with the Blast; and the *Eagle Galley* blew up likewise, and not so much as a Man was saved out of either of them. Their Galleywats were then obliged to make the best of their way for *Bombay*, with the News of the ill Success of the Engagement.[1] These Accidents, 'tis to be hoped, will be a Warning to many of our young Sea-Gunners to be more careful in their delivering out their Powder; as it is certain these Misfortunes could no otherwise happen than by their not taking sufficient care of the Powder Magazine. This Engagement was after the great Siege of *Allabeg*, which was the last Attempt we made by Land on *Angria*; but have strove ever since to suppress him by Sea.

THE other Pyrates being still ranging on the *Indian* Seas, they proceeded for their common Place of Rendezvous, the Island of *Madagascar*, and in their way they took a *Moors* Ship, coming from *China*, loaded with very rich Goods, which they totally demolished at the Island of *St. Mary*'s, where they clean'd their Ships. On these repeated Insults of the Pyrates, the Court of Directors had made their humble Application to the King and Council; on which his Majesty thought proper to appoint a Squadron of Men of War, under the Command of Commodore *Matthews*, (*viz.* the *Lyon*, Capt. *Readish*, on board of whom the Commodore hoisted his broad Pennant; the *Salisbury*, Capt. *Cockburn*, who was in case of Death to succeed Commodore *Matthews*; the *Exeter*, Sir *Robert Johnson*; and the *Shoreham*, Capt. *Maine*) to be aiding and assisting to the Hon. Company's Settlements, and to suppress all such Pyrates and Robbers as should any ways interrupt the free Trade in the *Indian* Seas: But by Distress

[1] Downing's account is not entirely accurate. A dispatch from Bombay to the Company, 22 March 1722, says: 'Angria's fleet . . . being four grabs and several gallevats mett off Basseen the 26th past the *Hunter* gally, coming from Surat, and *Eagle* briggantine, with two gallevats; whom they engag'd, and after a dispute of six hours the *Hunter* gally blew up. All her people, except twenty-nine, were lost; and the *Eagle* briggantine, with the gallevats, made a running fight, with the *Bombay Merchant* in her company, getting into Serigon [Shīrgaon] and latter into Mahim Kelme [Kelve-Māhīm, in Thāna District], belonging to the Portugueze.' In the *Bombay Consultations*, 2 March 1722, will be found noted a letter from Thomas Martin, the commander of the *Eagle*, which gives the date of the engagement as 27 February.

of Weather, before the Squadron arrived at *Bombay*, they were all separated; the *Salisbury* and *Exeter* damaging their Masts, were obliged to bear away for *Lisbon*, to get new Masts, which accordingly they did.[1] In the mean time, the Commodore proceeded with all possible Expedition for the appointed Rendezvous for the Squadron, which was at *Bombay*, where the Commodore had Instructions to be aiding and assisting to the Company's Governors, as they should require. The Commodore being desirous that the separated Ships might know where to find him (which possibly they knew, without his leaving of Letters in such Hands as he did) in his Passage touch'd at *St. Augustine*'s Bay,[2] on the Island of *Madagascar* to refresh his People; and at his Departure left Letters directed for Capt. *Cockburn*, Commander of the *Salisbury*. He had not been gone long, before the Pyrates in the *Victory* and *Cassandra* arrived there, to whom the Blacks delivered his Letters, who at that time did not know of any Men of War coming in quest of them. They took the Letters and brought them on board the *Victory*, where Capt. *Taylor* was pleased to have them read at the Mast, by which they were satisfied of the Strength of the Squadron, the Names of every Ship, the Commanders Names, and the Number of Guns and Men. This looked as if they were left with an intent to fall into the Hands of the Pyrates; for as Capt. *Cockburn* was the Senior Captain next the Commodore, he must certainly have known the Place of Rendezvous. For had not these Letters fell into their Hands, the *Salisbury* would probably have fell in with these Pyrates; but they finding these Letters left for her, did not think proper to stay there, but directly weighed and run for *Port Dolphin*.[3] The Inhabitants of *St. Augustine* did not know who was right or wrong, and being an ignorant People, they gave the Letter to the first Ships that came: For according to the Account we received afterwards, the Pyrates had not been gone long, before the *Salisbury* and *Grantham* arrived there, where making no Stay, they had no

[1] The outward voyage of Mathews's squadron is related in greater detail in the second section of Downing's narrative.

[2] On the south-west coast of Madagascar, in about 23½° S. latitude.

[3] Port or Fort Dauphin, on the south-east coast of the island, in 25° S. latitude.

true Account of them. Wherefore they proceeded for the Place of Rendezvous appointed before they left *England*. It is customary, for fear of losing Company by Distress of Weather, for every Captain to have his sailing Instructions, and an Account of Places appointed for Rendezvous: Besides, all Ships of War before they go out of any Harbour have their Signals, with the List of the Line of Battle, according to the Seniority of the Commanders: So that every Fore-mast Man may look up and see the Ship's Name, Captain, and Compliment of Men and Guns, as they steer the Ship; such List always being hung up at the Mizen Mast for the better Instruction of the petty Officers on the Quarter-Deck, in case of Signals made during the time of being in company with whole Squadrons of Ships of War, under the Command of Flags or Commodores.

THE *Lyon* and *Shoreham* arrived at *Bombay* in the Beginning of *September*[1] 1721, and the *Exeter* in about a fortnight after; she having left the *Salisbury* off the *Cape de Verd* Islands, after they came out of *Lisbon*. And the *Grantham* being appointed Store-Ship for the Squadron, lost company with the Commodore, and was recruiting at the *Cape*, when the *Salisbury* arrived there. The *Salisbury*, Capt. *Cockburn*, took the *Grantham* under his Care, in order to bring her to *Bombay*; where they arrived on the Second or Third of *October*.[2] At the *Lyon*'s Arrival, the Commodore very much resented the President's not saluting him. The President of *Bombay* knew the Length of his own Commission, and as he was a President for the King, and a Governor for the Company,[3] he imagined, as all other great Men in such Stations would, that he was something superior to a Commodore of a Squadron; tho' the Directors of the Company had sent Orders by the *Grantham* for him to salute the Commodore, at his Arrival.[4] After many

[1] They really arrived on 27 August. The *Exeter* came in on 15 September.

[2] 29 September, according to the Bombay records. The *Grantham* had arrived three days before.

[3] This statement should be reversed. Boone had been appointed President by the Company, and he claimed to have authority from the king (through them) as Governor of a fortress.

[4] This was so, but the letter did not arrive till 5 September, when Boone immediately gave the order to salute the Commodore.

Messages to and fro', disputing who should fire first, the President in Council complied to salute him, and then the Commodore thought proper to go on shore.

THE Island of *Bombay* was now throng'd with the Navy-Officers, who look'd as much superior to us, as the Greatness of their Ambition could possibly lead them. There were daily Duels fought by one or other of them; and Challenges perpetually sent round the Island by the Gentlemen of the Navy. Having such a great Number of gallant Heroes, we were in great hopes of totally demolishing *Angria*. The President and Council, with the Commodore, concluded on the Attack of *Allabeg*,[1] and withal to send an Express to the Viceroy [2] of *Goa*, and to the General of the North,[3] to request their Assistance in this great and important Affair. The Viceroy with much pretended Zeal came in person, designing to head such Forces as he had raised, and brought with him: The General of the North also came down to *Bombay*, and was most magnificently entertained by the President. The Horse-Guards of the Island of *Bombay* were ordered and fitted up for this Expedition: We now took a Method we never before had taken; we were to land at *Choule* all our Artillery, that being a Harbour belonging to the *Portuguese*, and joining to *Angria*'s Country; our Camp was pitched on the Island of *Bombay* in order for Review; and every thing was disposed in a very compleat manner. Mr. *Cowing* was appointed by the President and Council, Generalissimo of all the *English* Forces; several Commissions were granted to the Gentlemen belonging to the Men of War; Mr. *Wheatly*,[4] first Lieutenant of the *Exeter*, was commissioned as Colonel of a Company in the Company's

[1] Alībāg, the chief town of the Kolāba district, situated at the mouth of a tidal creek, in 18° 39′ N. latitude. The fort lies to the north-west of the town, within a hundred yards of the beach. The island fort of Kolāba, Kānhoji Angria's head-quarters, lay to the south-west of Alībāg, about a furlong from the shore. For a plan, see p. 253 of the Konkan volume of the *Bombay Gazetteer*.

[2] Don Francisco José de Sampaio e Castro.

[3] Don João Fernandes de Almeida. No account of his visit has been found in the records.

[4] Apparently this is incorrect. Capt. Cockburn's log (P. R. O., no. 842) says that Samuel Braithwait, the first lieutenant of the *Lion*, was in command as colonel; and this is corroborated by the log of Capt. Reddish (P. R. O., no. 536).

Service; Mr. *John Johnson* as Captain in the same. Mr. *Bellamy*,[1] a Midshipman belonging to the Commodore, was commissioned as an Ensign; and Lieutenant *Crawford*,[2] who was then third Lieutenant of the *Lyon*, was commissioned as Captain; and the Gentlemen of the Men of War, who thought proper to go as Volunteers in the Company's Service on this Expedition, were honourably accepted of and generously rewarded. We were now furnished with a large Train of Artillery, an accomplished Gentleman chose for chief Engineer, recommended out of the Squadron, and Capt. *Greenhill* Captain of the Artillery; with a Company of Pioneers. The Camp being formed on the Island of *Bombay*, they were all thoroughly disciplin'd according to the President's and Commodore's Approbation, and encreased by a Detachment of 40 Men out of every Man of War. The *Portuguese* Troops and Forces join'd us at *Choule*: The Men of War, and the rest of the Naval Force of *Bombay* took on board all the Soldiers, and several other Vessels were taken up as Transports to carry the Artillery. We had 24 fine Field-pieces of Cannon, and all manner of Ammunition answerable to them. From *Choule* we march'd for *Allabeg*; the Shipping came to an Anchor in the Road. In the mean time, the Captains of the Men of War were sollicitous to find out the Channel that led to a small Fort at the Harbour's Mouth of *Allabeg*. This Sir *Robert Johnson* undertook, and went in his own Barge to sound for the Channel; and he imagined he had found one sufficient to carry the *Shoreham*, a 20 Gun Ship, under the Command of Capt. *Covel Maine*: But how this Accident happened, we cannot judge; for they run her on the Rocks going into the Harbour, where she received considerable Damage, tho' they got her off again. She broke five of her Floor-timbers, and had it not been flowing Water, they must in all Probability have left her there.

General *Cowing* was all this while drawing up the Army, and

[1] Leonard Bellamy appears in the paybook of the *Lion* as having been promoted from able seaman to midshipman on 12 January 1721, and transferred to the *Salisbury* on 23 September 1723.

[2] Lieut. John Crawford had been transferred from the *Shoreham* to the *Lion* on 23 October 1721.

having join'd all the *Portuguese* Forces, they encamped on the Sands of *Allabeg*, where they got all their Army in an engaging Posture. Commodore *Matthews* was very diligent, and being desirous to see the Disposition of the Camp, went on shore, in company with the Viceroy of *Goa*, the General of the North, and General *Cowing*; with a slight Guard, they rode out of the Camp to view the Country so far as they thought proper, for their better Direction which way to march. Our Army now consisted of near 5000 Men all together, which were but few to attack an Enemy in his own Dominions. But had their Courage and Conduct been good, they might possibly have drove *Angria* quite out of the Low Country, into the Sedey's Dominions. The Commodore, with the rest of the general Officers, coming by a sort of an inclosed piece of Ground, a single Fellow of the *Angrians* came boldly up to the Hedge, and threw a Lance at the Commodore, which stuck in his Thigh: The Fellow was well mounted, and so was the Commodore, who directly as soon as he had received the Wound, drew out the Lance himself, and rode after the Fellow with great Fury, pulling out his Pistols in order to shoot at him; but neither of them would give fire. This so enraged the Commodore, that he was like a Man distracted, to think his Armourer had taken so little care to have his Arms in order. The Fury he was in, hurried him beyond Reason; for had not he stop'd as he did, he would soon have repented, for they were encamp'd in a Wood about two Miles from the Place.[1] The Commodore seeing the Camp in such regular Form and Order as he approved of, having their Artillery and all necessary Ammunition in Readiness; the *Portuguese* on the right Wing, and the *English* Seamen on the left; the Day of Attack was set. When the Viceroy of *Goa* came off, and went on board his Ship, pretending that he was taken very ill. The Commodore sent his own Doctor to him, to offer his Service, and supply him with such Medicines as should be convenient for him, if he was really taken ill. But the Doctor returned, and reported to the Commodore, that he did not perceive any thing to be the matter with him. However the Day of Attack was not put

[1] Capt. Reddish, in his log, says that Mathews returned to the *Lion*, wounded, on 7 December.

off: But General *Cowing* headed the *English* Army, and the General of the North the *Portuguese*; and none appeared more courageous than the *English* Seamen, commanded by the Officers of the Navy. In this Order, they came boldly up to the Castle-Walls of * *Allabeg*, where they pitch'd their Scaling-Ladders, and gallantly ascended the Wall. Young Mr. *Bellamy*, who is now, if alive, a Lieutenant in the Navy, ascended the Walls with Colours flying in his Hand, and defended himself bravely against the Enemy. The *Angrians* came down in a great Body, with several Elephants; which the General of the North perceiving, he broke the Order of his Wing; and the Seamen being employed in storming the Castle, (which for certain they would have taken, had they been properly supported) the whole Army fell into Confusion. So soon as the Enemy saw that the *Portuguese* were on the Retreat, and the whole Army was confused, they came down upon them, and made a terrible Slaughter amongst the *English* Soldiers and Seamen; great part of our Artillery was taken, with most of the Ammunition thereto belonging.[1]

IN the mean time, this bright Youth, Mr. *Bellamy* had so gallantly engaged himself, that had not Lieutenant *Wheatly* (who on this Expedition had a Colonel's Commission) and Lieutenant *Johnson*, Sir *Robert*'s eldest Son, flew to his Relief, he would certainly have been cut to pieces. Tho' they brought

* Note, Allabeg *lies between* Golaby *and* Choule; Choule *not being above* 15 *Leagues to the Southward of* Bombay, *and* Golaby *not above six Leagues from* Bombay. *And from the* Portuguese *City of* Choule *it is about* 10 *or* 12 *Miles through the Country to* Allabeg. *If the* Portuguese *did not side with them, they would not admit the* Angrian *Grabs to anchor in their Harbours.*

[1] Capt. Cockburn's log states that the English force was landed at Chaul on 1 December 1721. The *Lion* and *Exeter* each contributed fifty sailors, and the *Salisbury* forty. Alībāg was bombarded on the 12th; and two days later 500 men (English and Portuguese) attempted to storm the fortress. No breach had been made, and the walls were twenty feet high. The attack was repulsed, with the loss of sixty men killed (of whom a third were sailors) and twenty-six wounded. On 29 December the attempt was given up, as nothing could be done against Kolāba, 'the Sow Roger coming to the assistance of Angria with 3,000 horse, and the Portuguese treating of a peace with them.' The log of the master of the *Lion* (P. R. O., no. 436) gives the number of sailors supplied by that vessel as seventy-six and the loss as forty.

him off with Life, yet he was cut and mangled in a miserable manner.

THE whole Army was now on the Rout, and the Commodore came on shore in a violent Rage, flew at the General of the North, and thrust his Cane in his Mouth, and treated the Viceroy not much better. Thus the *Angrians* defeated us this time, intirely by the Treachery of the *Portuguese*, who seem'd to design only to lead our People on, and then to leave them in the lurch: This seem'd the more probable; for they never once offered to pursue them, but let them march off without any Molestation. We got off most of our scatter'd Forces, and what part of the Baggage and Artillery we had saved, and re-imbarked, tho' we had great Numbers kill'd and wounded. Among the wounded was Mr. *Edward Province*, a young Man belonging to the *Lyon*; who lost one of his Eyes, and part of his Right-hand; Mr. *William Jefferson* and Mr. *William Thirteen*, Seamen on board the *Salisbury*; the former lost his Right-hand, and the latter had his Right-arm so shattered, that he never had the Use of it afterwards, and the Surgeons took out 32 Splinters of Bone from his Arm. For the better Encouragement of others to enter into the honourable Company's Service, Mr. *Province* received 30 *l. Sterl.* and has been employed in the Company's Warehouse at the *Steel-yard* ever since; *Jefferson* received 30 *l.* and *Thirteen* received 30 *l.* besides a Pension from the Chest of *Chatham*.[1]

THE whole Army returned now to *Bombay*; and the *Shoreham* was sent up to *Surat* to dock, and repair the Damage she had sustained; the Commodore also with the *Exeter* went for *Surat*, and left the *Salisbury* Guard-ship at *Bombay*.

THE time limited for the Government of the Hon. *Charles Boone*, Esq; was expired, and the Court of Directors appointed the Hon. *John Pitts*,[2] Esq; to succeed him. Governor *Boone* had behaved in so honourable a manner, that it was with the utmost Reluctance that all Ranks of People at *Bombay* parted with him. And it may be truly said, that none of his Predecessors in that Post ever deserved so much on all Accounts,

[1] The Company granted £30 to Jefferson on 26 February 1725. The petitions of Province and Thurton (as the name is spelt) are mentioned, but the results are not recorded.

[2] An error for 'William Phipps'.

or had such real Respect paid them. He left the Island of *Bombay* in *January*[1] 1721–2, and embarked on board the *London*, Capt. *Upton*; and had with him the *Greenwich* in company, Capt. *Barnes*. Tho' this honourable Gentleman was defeated in most of his Undertakings against *Angria*, with no small Trouble and Concern to himself, he left the Island in a good Posture of Defence both by Sea and Land: He found the same unguarded, and very poor, but left it flourishing in Trade, and many Merchants were come from *Madrass* and *Bengall* to settle there. After his Honour was attended to the Water-side by most of the Inhabitants, he took his Leave, and returned them his hearty Thanks for the Sincerity of their Friendship and Subjection during his Government. When the *London* was under Sail, and the other Governor taking his Leave, he delivered up the Keys, and the Charge of the Island, with all the proper Writings in a large Box. At his Honour's embarking, the Guns fired all round the Fort, as did the Shipping and Naval Forces of the Island, except the Men of War.

AS soon as Commodore *Matthews* had got on his Voyage for *Surat*, having the *Shoreham* and *Exeter* in his company, off of the High-land of *St. John*'s, he made a Signal for Sir *Robert Johnson* to come on board of him; when he ordered him to proceed down to *Goa*, and there purchase Arrack for the Use of the Squadron, and at his Peril not to put into *Bombay* or elsewhere till he arrived at *Goa*; also not to discharge Man or Officer on any account whatever. Sir *Robert* parted company with the aforesaid Orders; but off the High-land of *Bassean*, he met with the *Chandois* coming down from *Surat*, with whom he join'd company and came to *Bombay*, where he went on shore, and discharg'd his eldest Son, who was his Second Lieutenant, and made the Gentleman who was his Third his Second; and his youngest Son,[2] who was Midshipman on board, he made Third Lieutenant. He then proceeded down for *Goa*, and there took in Arrack sufficient for his own Ship's Company, but concerned himself with no more. From thence he proceeded to *Tillicherry*, where the Commodore came up with him, and stop'd his further Proceedings. The Commodore

[1] The actual date was 9 January. The *Greenwich* sailed the next day.
[2] Robert Johnson.

insisted, that either he and his youngest Son should quit their Commissions voluntarily, or else the Matter should be decided by a Court Martial, which probably would have broke them for not complying with Orders. Upon this, Sir *Robert* quitted his Post,[1] and the Commodore made his own Captain-Lieutenant [2] Captain of the *Exeter* in the room of Sir *Robert*. The *Chandois* being in the Road, he with his two Sons came for *England* in her; tho' at the *Cape*, Sir *Robert* and the Captain of the *Chandois* disagreeing, he, with his Sons, went on board the *Addison*, which, with the *Nightingale* and *Chandois* were cast away, and Sir *Robert* and his two Sons were drown'd.[3]

I shall now give an Account of Commodore *Matthews*'s Voyage from *Bombay* round the Island of *Madagascar* in quest of Capt. *England* and Capt. *Taylor* the Pyrates. I was on board the *Salisbury*, Pilot and Interpreter for Capt. *Cockburn*, and was Interpreter for the Squadron with the Viceroy of *Goa*, in order to procure a Vessel to have stopt Sir *Robert* at *Goa*, but he was gone before we came there. In *February* 1721–2 we left the Coast of *Malabar*, and took our Departure from *Cape Commeron* in the Latitude of 7 Deg. 10. M. Northerly, and shaped our Course for the Island of *Moroslas*,[4] but made

[1] On 12 February 1722. [2] Samuel Braithwait.

[3] These three vessels were wrecked at the Cape of Good Hope in June 1722 (see note on p. 45).

[4] Mauritius. From p. 84 we learn that they anchored in Carpenter's Bay (evidently so-called from the tomb here mentioned). A document abstracted in *The English Factories in India*, 1642–5 (p. 153), informs us that this inlet was termed by the Dutch Pieter Both's Bay; and the map of Mauritius given in Valentijn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, vol. v, enables us to identify it with the modern Grand Port, on the south-eastern side of the island. The origin of the old English name does not appear to be known. I conjecture that it commemorates David Carpenter, master of the *Samaritan*. That vessel left Bantam for England in April 1615, and was wrecked on the coast of Madagascar. It is not known whether she called at Mauritius, and buried her captain there; but this seems highly probable.

The Bombay letter to the Company of 29 January 1723 says that at Mauritius the squadron 'found two French ships that were come to settle the place and had brought the King of France's pardon for all pyrates; some of whom had accepted thereof and were come in.' The log of the master of the *Salisbury* (P. R. O., no. 294) shows that these ships were found at North-West Harbour (now Port Louis), to which the

no Stay there; tho' we here found writ on Capt. *Carpenter*'s Tomb with a Piece of Charcoal, *We were here in the* Cassandra *and* Victory, *expecting your Coming; we left this Place on the 28th of* February, *and are now on our Voyage for* Port Dolphin, *on the Island of* Madagascar. However we proceeded from *Moroslas* to *Domascaicas*,[1] where some of our People disposed of several Casks of Arrack, and *Madera* Wine, &c. for very good Profit. We made no long Stay, but weighed from thence about the middle of *March*, and beat away against the South-west Monsoons, in order to reach *Port Dolphin*: But the Winter was coming on so fast, and the Seas so very short withal, that it was impossible for us to keep up our sides to Windward: So that we then bore away for the Island of *St. Mary*, and came to anchor at *Charnock-Point*[2] on the island of *Madagascar*, about three Leagues distant from *St. Mary*. The Commodore sent the *Salisbury*, and his Second Lieutenant, with his six-oar'd Boat, up to the Island, to make Discoveries; where we found the Wrecks of several Ships which the Pyrates had demolished, with their Cargo's of *China* Ware, rich Drugs, and all sorts of Spices, lying in great heaps on the Beach of the said Island: there were also several Guns.[3] So soon as the Commodore was informed by his Lieutenant what great Quantities of Merchants Goods lay on the said Island, he made a Signal for us to weigh, and come down to them at *Charnock Point*; which so soon as we did, he, with the *Exeter*, went up to *St. Mary*'s, where the Commodore directed the Guns to be weighed, and took such Commodities as were least damaged. While we were watering of the *Salisbury*, a white Man came

English vessels first repaired (28 March 1722). Mathews, however, took the squadron round at once to Carpenter's Bay, where it remained until 4 April.

[1] Réunion (see p. 46). The squadron stayed there from 9 to 11 April.

[2] Larree or Larée Point, on the mainland, opposite to St. Mary's Island. The logs of the squadron call it variously Charock and Charnock. The origin of the name is not known.

[3] Capt. Reddish says that on 21 April they anchored in 'Cockey Bay', and 'found it had been a place of resort for the pyrates for many years. . . . Only two ships length within the first island, which is called Pyrates Town [Island ?], where thare is four wrecks lies sunck, being furst burnt down to the lower decks. . . . Upon Pyrates Island abundance of houses, all raised upon wood two foot from the ground.'

down, who said his Name was *James Plantain*; that he was born on the Island of *Jamaica*, at *Chocolate-Hole*, and that he had been a pyrating, but had now left off, and had settled at a Place about six or seven Miles higher up, called *Ranter-Bay*,[1] where he had fortified himself, and was called by the Natives, King of *Ranter-Bay*; and provided the Commodore thought proper, he would supply the Squadron with Cattle. Capt. *Cockburn* having an Account of this Pyrate's coming down, went himself in order to bring him off; but finding that he had a number of armed Men in the Wood, he did not think proper to attempt it; but sent an Account of this by the *Exeter*'s Boat (which had been ordered to cut a small Tree to make a flying Gibb-boom of) to the Commodore; who came down directly. *Plantain* having given several of Capt. *Cockburn*'s petty Officers an Invitation to his Castle, the Captain in hopes of having farther Intelligence where the Pyrates were, let them go; who brought an Account of the great Riches the said *Plantain* was possessed of, and how he was homaged by the Natives, and called King of *Ranter-Bay*, had a large Number of Slaves under him; and that there was also one *James Adair* a *Scotsman*, and a *Dane*, who were fortified there as well as he, and that they lived a very profane and debauch'd Life, indulging themselves in all manner of Wickedness.[2] After this we sold them several Hogsheads and Puncheons of Arrack, and Hampers of Wine, for which they paid a very large Price, in Diamonds, and Gold Pieces of about 10*s*. each. We had several Cattle sent down for the Benefit of the Squadron; and *Plantain* himself came down and delivered his Goods and Money to one *Basset*,[3] a Midshipman in the *Salisbury*,

[1] Presumably this was Antongil Bay, or some part of it.

[2] Capt. Reddish says that one ex-pirate (evidently Plantain) came down on 23 April, and two others four days later, the mate of the *Salisbury* and a midshipman (probably Bassett) having gone up to their settlement as hostages. This settlement was twenty miles up the country. He mentions the three leaders as an Englishman, Scotsman, and Dane, 'all well fortified, and has abundance of riches. All of em owns that they ware at the takeing the rich Moor ship (wherein is said to be 13 lacks of rupees) and the great Portegueze ship, and designe for ever to leave off those vile practices.'

[3] Henry Bassett, an able seaman of the *Salisbury*, who was made first a quartermaster and then a midshipman on board the *Exeter*.

who had been entrusted with Messages to and fro' between *Plantain* and us. Our People likewise sold them Hats, Shoes, Stockings, and such other Necessaries as they wanted. His House, or rather Castle, was fortified with Guns, and strongly guarded: During the time that the Commodore was on shore, *Plantain* had the Impudence to keep *St. George*'s Flag flying, and barbecu'd a Hog for his Entertainment. He little thought we should have serv'd him such a Trick as we did; for so soon as he had taken his Leave, and only left a slight Guard of Black Men to take care of the Arrack, *&c.* we directly mann'd the Ships Long-boats with Arms, and sent them on shore, and brought off all the Liquor which the aforesaid Mr. *Basset* had been paid for, and also several of the Blacks, who were left to guard the said Arrack.[1] We were not able to suppress those Pyrates, who after they had done all the vile Actions possible, were now settled on shore amongst a parcel of Heathens, to indulge themselves in all sorts of Vice. The Accounts we had from them concerning the other Pyrates, were as follow: That the *Victory* and *Cassandra* were gone for *Port Dolphin*, in order to keep clear of us, and that they intended so soon as Weather permitted to go away for the *Spanish West-Indies*, there to surrender up their Ships to the *Spaniard*, and to accept of the *Spanish* Act of Grace. This was confirm'd by Mr. *William More* the Surgeon, who made his Escape from them before they got to *Portobello*, or *Carthagena*, where by Accident he found the *Mermaid* Capt. *Laws*, with whom he came down to *Jamaica*. There he was examined before the Duke of *Portland*, Governor of *Jamaica*;[2] and the Commander he was taken from, speaking in his behalf, he was cleared, and came to *England* in the *Mermaid*.

WE weighed from *St. Mary*'s, the latter End of *April* 1722, and came for *Manegora Bay*,[3] where we purchased some more

[1] Mr. S. C. Hill has drawn my attention to the depositions of two sailors (P. R. O.: High Court Papers, I. 18) which confirm Downing's account of the trick played upon Plantain by carrying off the liquor for which he had paid. This was done just before the squadron sailed.

[2] Henry, first Duke of Portland, was Governor from 1722 to his death in 1726.

[3] Old charts show this as a harbour a little to the north of 'New Massalege'.

Provisions for the Use of the Squadron. The *Exeter* was sent to *Masseyleage*,[1] and there run on shore ; but by good fortune was got off again. From thence we weighed in the Beginning of *May*,[2] and proceeded with the *Lyon* for the Island of *Johanna*, and the *Exeter* was sent to *Massembeak*,[3] a Place possessed by the *Portuguese* on the Coast of *Ethiopia*, where she disposed of the Guns they took on board at *St. Mary*'s, and shipp'd great Quantities of Cowries in their After-hole. Before she join'd us in the Road of *Johanna*, the Commodore was sailed for *Bengal*, and left us to wait the *Exeter*'s Return, and then to cruise off the *Straits* Mouth of *Babelmondon*, in order to look out for the Pyrates. We cruised off there till the latter End of *August*, when we were joined by the *Dawson East-Indiaman* and the *Fame Galley* of *Bombay*, commanded by Capt. *Ackland*, a Gentleman who came out with Commodore *Matthews*, as Midshipman. Taking these two Ships under our Convoy, we proceeded for *Bombay*, where we were well received ;[4] for the *Portuguese* had again quarrelled with the *English*, and almost starv'd the Inhabitants, not suffering any Supply to come from the neighbouring Island, in Defiance of the Company's Forts. So soon as the Men of War were arrived, Governor *Pitts*, with the Advice of his Council, sent to the Captain of the *Salisbury* for Assistance ; and the President sent off Major *Stanton* to encourage all such Volunteers as would go on this Expedition round the Island of *Bombay*, to make an Attack on the *Portuguese*. Accordingly they got forty Men out of each Ship, with a promisory Reward of 40 *Rupees per* Man, and the other Encouragements for those who should lose a Leg or an Arm, as were offered by the late Governor. We mann'd several Sail of the largest Galleywats, and went round the Island ; against the Fort of *Surey* we begun our Attack, and soon disabled the Battery they had built to prevent the trading Boats coming over to the Island, then plugg'd up their Guns, and made them

[1] Presumably the 'New Massalege' of contemporary voyages, i. e. the modern Majunga, on the north-western coast of Madagascar, in 15° 43′ S.

[2] The squadron left Manegora Bay on 6 June, and reached Johanna five days later.

[3] Mozambique.

[4] They arrived 3 September 1722.

quit their Possession; and left the way open for the Inhabitants of the Main to come down with all manner of Provisions, without being imposed on by the *Portuguese*.[1] Governor *Pitts* also sent Mr. *Bendall* again to the General of the North, who still insisted on the Articles sign'd by Secretary *Cooke* in the Year 1687;[2] but at last they gave up this Point once more.

SOON after we obtained this Advantage, we had an Account brought from *Worleigh*,[3] that *Angria*'s Grabs, with several Sail of Galleywats, were cruising off the Back of the Island of *Bombay*; whereupon we manned the *Victory* with Men out of the Ships of War, and Capt. *Lawson* commanded her. We went out, and soon fell in with them; they engaged us four Hours and a half, and a *Dutch* Man on board one of their Grabs, frequently called to us in *English*, and bid us strike, for

[1] The cause of the quarrel was the long-standing dispute over the right of the English to levy tolls on Portuguese vessels using the harbour. The Portuguese commenced active hostilities, raiding Bombay island and doing considerable damage; while the English were not strong enough to retaliate until the arrival of the *Salisbury*. Then, 'Capt. Cockburne having on the Presidents request . . . supply'd us with two of his ships boates and seventy-six men, they embarked yesterday evening in eleven of our gallevats and two pinnaces, under the command of Major Jonathan Stanton, and sail'd towards Maul, in order to destroy the Portugueze boates which interrupt our navigation. But thro neglect or ill conduct they did not proceed so early as was intended, and thereby loosing the time of the tyde, the attempt proved fruitless. And that night being tempestious, and continuing the day after, nothing cou'd be further attempted at that time' (*Bombay Consultations*, 7 September 1722).

Downing exaggerates the success of the expedition, and he is wrong in saying that Sewri, which was an English fort, was bombarded. Probably he meant to say 'Maul', i.e. Mahul, on the southernmost point of the island of Salsette abutting on Bombay harbour.

From the *Bombay Consultations* (14 September) we also learn that Major Stanton of his own accord had promised Cockburn's men ten (not forty) rupees apiece to go on this service. As he had acted without authority, the Council were at first disposed to refuse to reimburse him; but finally it was decided to allow him 500 rupees, leaving him to pay the rest.

Mathews, who affected neutrality in the dispute with the Portuguese, severely censured Cockburn for lending his men, and suspended him for a time from his command.

[2] See note on p. 34.

[3] Worli, or Warli, on the north-eastern side of Bombay Island.

that they never would. However, we soon cut him off, and the Grab struck, and we brought her into *Bombay* as a free Prize; this was the first time we had taken any thing belonging to *Angria*.[1] In the mean time, the Court of Directors had built three fine Galleys at *Deptford* and *Blackwall* Yards;[2] we had an account of their Arrival at *Madrass* with the Treasure belonging to the *Nightingale*. As they were coming up the Coast, they met with three Sail of *Portuguese* Grabs, who off of *Goa* presumed to assault them. They soon took one of them, and brought her as a Prize to *Bombay*:[3] The taking of this Grab has kept the *Portuguese* in tolerable good order, tho' every now and then they have made some little Disturbances.

THE Commodore arrived soon after this at *Bengal*, and took in a Freight of Sugar, and then came up to *Surat*. He then ordered the Captains of the *Exeter* and *Salisbury* to exchange,[4] and sent the *Exeter* for *England*, and he and the *Salisbury*

[1] 'On notice of Angria's fleet of four grabs and several gallevatts, that they were cruizing to the northward, between this and the high land of St. John's, we dispatch'd the *Victoria* and *Revenge* the 5th of November in quest of them; and with that success that they return'd the 10th and brought in the admiral grab, his chief subadarr, and ninety other prisoners of his best people. When the *Victoria* came up with them, three made little resistance but endeavour'd to save themselves, leaving this engag'd, who defended herself for some hours pretty resolutely; but night coming on, they desisted on both sides, our grabs keeping close by her untill the morning, when she struck, on our people promising them quarter.' (*Bombay letter to the Company*, 29 January 1723.) The commander on the occasion was Thomas Lawson. The journal of the master of the *Salisbury* says that ten of her sailors and a midshipman were lent to the *Victoria* for the expedition. This accounts for Downing's presence at the engagement.

[2] The *Bombay*, *Bengal*, and *Fort St. George* galleys.

[3] 'In their passage from Madrass and from Cape Ramus . . . the galleys observ'd they had been dogg'd two days by two grabs; and, to prevent any surprize from them, the commanders agreed to stand towards them to make what they were; which on their doing, and firing as usual athwart their forefoot, they declar'd themselves Portugueze and immediatly gave the galleys their broadsides, killing three of our people at the guns; which brought on an engagement, in which our people became masters of them in an hour's time and brought them in here where they remain untill we shall receive the Viceroy's resolutions towards an accommodation, to whom the President has wrote an account of the action.' (*Bombay to the Company*, 29 January 1723.)

[4] Capts. Cockburn and Braithwait changed places on 9 November 1722

continued in the Country. He took on board at *Madrass*[1] the Widow of Mr. *William Gifford*, who was cut off at *Anjango*, and brought her to *England* with him, and arrived in the *Downs* on *July* 1724.

SINCE that time, we have never attempted to make any Attacks upon *Angria*'s Dominions, but endeavoured to break his Naval Strength, tho' with very ill Success: For he has at several times done us Mischief and taken our Shipping. This is attributed to the Assistance he has had from several *Dutch* Deserters who have got into his Service. In the Year 1728, he took the *Bombay-Galley*,[2] and re-took the Grab taken from him by Capt. *Lawson*, assisted by Men from the Ships of War. In the Year 1730, he attack'd the *Ockham*, Capt. *Jobson*, who made a gallant Defence; and the Hon. Mr. *Cowing* being then President of *Bombay*, he gave every Man on board the Ship two Months Pay *gratis*, and at their Arrival in *England* the Court of Directors gave each of them two Months Pay more, and the Owners of the *Ockham* gave each Man a Month's Pay more, as an Encouragement for their good Behaviour.[3] *Angria* and his Son continue still so troublesome, that it is difficult for the Merchant Ships to pass and repass: but his Success, 'tis said, is chiefly owing to the Assistance of the *Portuguese*, who supply him with all sorts of Ammunition, Gunners, *&c.*

I shall now give an Account of the taking of the *Derby*,

[1] This should be 'Calcutta'.

[2] This appears to be a muddled account of an action that took place on 25 November 1730 between Angria's fleet on the one hand and the *Bengal* and *Bombay* galleys on the other. A shot ignited some powder on board the *Bengal*, with the result that her quarterdeck was blown up, and the vessel was then carried by boarding, in spite of a brave resistance. The *Bombay* escaped. (See letter from Bombay of 22 January 1731, and the tenth report of the Hist. MSS. Commission, p. 155.)

[3] The date is wrong, as is shown by the following extract from a Bombay letter to the Company dated 22 January 1732: 'The 13th inst. imported the *Ockham* etc. from Bengall. They were attacked by Angria's grabs and gallivats, which did the *Ockham* considerable damage; but one of them being disabled, they were obliged to retire.' (*Bombay Abstracts*, vol. 1a, p. 398.) From a later letter (ibid., p. 401) we learn that it was the captain (William Jobson) who gave his men two months' pay to encourage them to defend the vessel.

Capt. *Anselm*, at his Arrival on the Coast of *India*. In *May* 1735, they left *England*, bound for *Bombay*, having on board a large Number of Passengers. Amongst these were several *English* Ladies and their Maids, in order to promote their Fortunes ; there were also the Governor of *Tillicherry's* Sister,[1] and several other Ladies going to their Husbands. They arrived on the Coast in *December* last, and off the High Land of *Gerey*, they fell in with five Sail of *Angria's* Grabs, and several Galleywats, who most furiously attack'd them. The *Derby's* Crew stood most gallantly by the Ship, and Captain ; and tho' a great Number of them were killed, the Remainder held out till they were quite over-power'd. During the time of the Engagement, they shot away all the *Derby's* Shrouds ; so that having no Security for their Masts, they roll'd them all away, which did them great Damage ; and in this deplorable Condition they became a Prey to *Angria*, who was seen to tow them into *Gerey*.[2] It being calm, none could go to their Assistance. We since hear, that the Boatswain and several of the Men have made their Escape, and come to *Bombay*. 'Tis not to be doubted but the Hon. Company will use all proper means, that a Naval Force may be sent there once more, to endeavour to suppress the said Pyrate, and retaliate the Injuries they have received. Amongst the Passengers taken in the *Derby*, was Capt. *Slaughter*,[3] late of the Island of *St. Helena*, with whom I was formerly acquainted when he officiated as Town-Marshal on the said Island, but for his good Behaviour, the Company had promoted him to that Place of Honour ; his Lady was also with him.

AFTER the *Exeter* and *Salisbury* were sailed for *England*, I came home in the King *George*, Capt. *John Houghton* : and

[1] Sarah Law, sister of Stephen Law.

[2] See the *Bombay Consultations* of 8, 15, and 21 January 1736. The date of the engagement was 26 December 1735. Of the survivors 115 were taken to Suvarndrug, whence Capt. Abraham Anselm wrote to Bombay to announce the loss of his vessel. The prisoners were released in the following November. An account of the engagement will be found in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xxvi, pt. i, p. 172.

[3] Sergeant, and then Ensign, William Slaughter appears in St. Helena lists of July 1723 and March 1724. On a later page he is called Capt. Sclater.

have had all the latter Account from the time of Captain *Jobson's* being engaged by the said Pyrate, from very good Authority; as Mates of Ships in the Company's Service, *&c.* If the *East-India* Company shall think proper to send a further Supply for the Safe-guard of their coasting Trade in those Parts, I shall offer my Service to go, and use my utmost Endeavours for their Interest; they being worthy to be served above all the Merchants in *Great Britain*, for the Care they take of those who receive Damage, and also of the Widows of those who are killed in their Service. Pray God give them Success for the future, that by the Conduct of some worthy Gentlemen, they may be able to suppress this troublesome Pyrate *Angria* and his Adherents. This is the hearty Prayer of,

Their Honours most Obedient,

and Humble Servant,

Cl. Downing.

A Particular

ACCOUNT

Of all the

TRANSACTIONS

In the Voyage of

Commodore *Matthews*

To the

EAST-INDIES;

With the *Lyon*, *Salisbury*, *Exeter*, and *Shoreham*: Sent thither to suppress the Pyrates.

To the READER.

I *Humbly hope that the Care I have taken in giving the World a particular Account of the Affairs which happened in our Voyage (it being the plain Truth in all respects) will be the more esteemed for the Sincerity of the same ; I being partly an Eye-witness to all that passed, and in some Passages Interpreter for those Gentlemen the Commodore thought proper to send as Commissaries to the Viceroy of Goa.*

THE Dispute between the Commodore and Sir Robert Johnson *is worthy Remark, which I have related with the utmost Fidelity on both Sides, and leave the World to judge who in this Point was most to blame.*

AS to the Tryal of Sir Robert's *Purser, it was decided by the Commodore with great Justice and Equity ; and likewise the Tryal and Condemnation of Mr.* Sutherland, *for the Murder of Mr.* Dalrymple.

THESE and many other Particulars have not been made publick by any Author as yet ; which I hope will be much to the Reader's Satisfaction.

A Particular

ACCOUNT

Of the

TRANSACTIONS

In the Voyage of

Commodore *Matthews.*

ON the 6th Day of *February* 1720–1, Commodore *Matthews* on board the *Lyon*, with the following Ships and Captains under his Command, sailed from *Spithead* on a Voyage to *Bombay* in *India*, in order to suppress the Pyrates who were then in those Parts, and had taken the *Cassandra*, Capt. *Mackray* Commander, belonging the Hon. *East-India* Company, *&c.*

Ships.	Captains and Officers.
	Thomas Matthews, Esq; Commodore.
Lyon, 50 Guns, 240 Men.	Capt. *Reddish*
	Lieut. *Braithwait*, 1st Lieut.
Pilot for the Company, Mr. *Wallace.*	Lieut. *Caldicut*, 2d.
	Lieut. *Walker*, 3d.
Salisbury, 40 Guns, 200 Men.	Capt. *John Cockburn*, Second Commander.
	Lieut. *Elliot*, 1st Lieut.
No Pilot on board.	Lieut. *Stepney*, 2d.
	Lieut. *Wood*, 3d.

Ships.	Captains and Officers.
Exeter, 50 Guns, 240 Men.	Sir *Robert Johnson*, Capt. Lieut. *Wheatly*, 1st Lieut.
Pilot for the Company, Mr. *Micham*.	Lieut. *Johnson*, 2d. Lieut. *Cook*, 3d.
Shoreham, 20 Guns, 120 Men. No Pilot on board.	Capt. *Covell Maine*. Lieut. *Crawford*.

WE had also with us, the *Grantham*, Capt. *Field*, belonging to the Company, which was ordered as a Store-Ship for us.

AT Eight in the Morning the Commodore made the Signal for unmooring, which we did ; and then directly to weigh and get under Sail with all possible speed. The *Shoreham* by some Accident had damaged her Main-mast, and was obliged to put into *Portsmouth* Harbour, to get another Main-mast.

WE in the *Salisbury*, with the *Lyon*, *Exeter*, and *Grantham*, proceeded to Sea, tho' with a very indifferent Wind, it being about N. by W. and blowing very fresh ; we kept the Sea, and beat down the Channel, but had very hard Gales of Wind. The next Day after we sailed, about four in the Afternoon, by a very hard Squall of Wind the Commodore sprung his main Yard ; but notwithstanding this Accident, he would not put into any Harbour, but brought to that Night under our lower Sails, till he had fished or mended his Yard again, and in the Morning made sail down the Channel, as near our Course as possibly he could lay the same ; the Weather being very bad with much Snow, Sleet and a hard Gale of Wind, sometimes at W. S. W. and Northward, to the N. W. blowing hard with a mountainous Sea.

ON the 9th Instant, about four in the Afternoon it cleared up, and we saw the Land on our Star-board Quarter, which proved to be the *Start-Point* ; from which we were obliged to take our Departure, the Weather proving very bad again. The Wind some small matter favouring us, we got clear out of the Channel, and in the Bay of *Biscay* we had a very hard Storm of Wind. Here we lay to, under our Main-sail for three or four Days, and in this Distress we lost company of the *Exeter*, which we feared had foundered, but by GOD's Mercy

was preserved. On or about two Days after, the Weather being something moderate, and the Wind pretty favourable, the *Exeter* join'd company again; and the next Day the *Shoreham* join's us in the Latitude of 30 Deg. and some odd Miles; we then computing ourselves to be on or near the *Burling*.[1] That Night, which was the 20th of *February*, we had, about Seven in the Evening, a hard Gale of Wind, which lasted 48 Hours, with much Thunder, Lightning, and Rain. On the 21st in the Morning, about four o'clock, by the violence of the Storm, we sprung our Main-mast about six Foot above the Step in the Well, which put us all in great Surprize. The *Exeter* also lost company with us again. As the Day-light came on, we made the Signal of Distress, and none of us at that time expected to see Land again; but GOD ALMIGHTY most miraculously brought us safe to *Lisbon* Harbour after we had sprung our Mast in so dangerous a Place, that if it had intirely gone away, it must have carried the whole Side of the Ship with it.

THE Commodore seeing our Signal of Distress, bore down to us; and hearing what Condition we were in, ordered us to bear away for *Lisbon*, to get another Mast, and to bring a Main-yard for him, which accordingly we did. About one in the Afternoon, we made the Land, which was much nearer to us than what we computed it to be. The same Night we got into *Cascais*[2] Bay, and came to an Anchor; and the Weather proving fair, we got out our Long-boat, and cleared our Ship as much as possible. In the Morning a Pilot came on board, to carry us into the Harbour. We weighed directly with a small Gale of Wind at West, which did not continue long, but was succeeded by a hard Gale and thick Fog, so that with great Difficulty we got into the Harbour that Night, which was the 23d of *February*. The Night after we were moor'd in the Harbour, we had such a violent Storm of Wind and Hail, that it being my Watch on the Deck, I was obliged to call the Hands up to strike our Yards and Topmast; but the Men that went up to the Tops to strike our Topmast, were

[1] The Burlings or Berlengas are a group of small islands off the coast of Portugal, in lat. 39° 25′ N.

[2] Cascaes, about ten miles west of Lisbon.

obliged to get underneath our Tops for Shelter, the Hail being so very violent, and of such a Bigness, that no Person was able to stand the same. Mr. *Robert Cheater*, our Carpenter, put his Hand out of his Cabin and took up one of the Hail-stones, which he affirmed was one Inch and a half in Diameter. This Squall held a quarter of an Hour, and the next Day we employed our People to unrig our Main-mast, whilst our Captain went on shore to the Store-keepers in order for another, which we had given us. In searching the Mast, we found the same to be damaged in three Places ; we then thought proper to inspect the Fore-mast, which we also found to be sprung in two Places ; so that we were obliged to have a new Fore-mast also.

THE next Morning we saw a large Ship coming into the Harbour, which proved to be the *Exeter*, Sir *Robert Johnson* Commander, who by the same Distress of Weather, had sprung his Foremast and Boltsprit, and was obliged to put in for a Recruit of Masts and other Refreshments. A short time after, Commodore *Stuart* in the *Dover* came in with two other Ships in his Company ; he was on a Voyage for the Redemption of the Captives in *Algier*. Our third Lieutenant being of a sickly disposition, quitted us by consent of Commodore *Stuart*, we being under his Command during our Stay there. Mr. *William Berkeley*, Nephew to my Lord *Berkeley*, was made our third Lieutenant. He came from on board the *Exeter*, and was a gallant and brave young Man, tho' not much acquainted with our Sea-Methods, but made a very good Officer, and much exceeded his Predecessor in Goodness to the Men ; which good Behaviour made him well beloved. Mr. *Berkeley*, in consideration of Mr. *Wood's* ill State of Health and of his being poor, very generously made him a Present of 80 Moidores to bear his Charges home.

HERE we had another of our petty Officers shamefully discharged, and sent home, one *Joseph Windham*, a Midshipman ; who on shore at *Bellisle* in *Lisbon* Harbour, in the Hearing of Sir *Robert Johnson* and our Captain, was drinking of treasonable Healths : And when he was surpriz'd with the Sight of Sir *Robert* and the Captain, he drew his Sword and jump'd out of a Window, and run away, crying, *King* James

for ever! But by the Assistance of the Boat's Crew, he was soon brought back again, sent on board as a Prisoner, and confin'd in the Gun-Room. A Day or two after he was carried before Commodore *Stuart*, who enquired into the Circumstances of the Affair. He pleaded he was in Liquor; so on account of his having great Friends, the Commodore ordered his Discharge to be made out, as a disaffected Person to the Government, and sent him for *England* in a small Merchant Ship, which carried home Lieutenant *Wood*. Sir *Robert* indeed, mightily insisted on a Court Martial, and to have had him punished, according to the utmost Severity of Law.

IT was on or near the twentieth of *March* e'er we had our new Mast fix'd and rigg'd, and got in a good sailing Posture again; and having taken on board a new Supply of fresh Water, Wine, and such like, we made a Signal to prepare for sailing; which we did on the 21st Instant,[1] having only the *Exeter* in company with us. By the favour of a prosperous Gale, we soon arrived at *Madera*, where the Commodore had been, with the *Shoreham* and *Grantham* in his company, and had left Orders for us to proceed after him to the Island of *St. Jago*, which is one of the *Cape de Verd* Islands.

IN a short time we took on board our Wine and Water, and about the 6th of *April* we sailed, having the *Monmouth East-Indiaman* in company with us a small time while we lay at *Madera*, who sailed thence a Day before us. While we lay there, one *Abraham Worth* run away from us. In four or five Days after, by a pleasant Gale of Wind we arrived at *St. Jago*, and there heard that the Commodore was gone for the *Cape of Good Hope*. We staid here but 48 Hours, to refresh the Ship's Company with such Provisions as the Place afforded; which were Fowls, Coconuts, Plantanes, Bananas, Pine-Apples, Hogs, and some Goats; which the Natives barter for any sort of old

[1] A comparison with the log of the master of the *Salisbury*, William Teague, shows that Downing's memory was at fault in regard to dates. The *Salisbury* left Lisbon on 19 March; reached Madeira on 31 March; sailed 7 April; anchored at Santiago (Cape Verd Islands) on 16 and left on 19 April; saw the Cape 23 June; anchored in Table Bay the next day; sailed again 8 July; reached St. Augustine's Bay 3 August and Johanna on the 21st; left on 26 August, and sighted the coast of India on 23 September. Bombay was reached on 29 September.

Clothes. Here we went a Fishing for the further Refreshment of the Ship's Company; and haled our Line, and in three Draughts, inclosed as much Fish as our six-oar'd Boat could carry on board at three times; which was a great Refreshment to us. Amongst these Fish, we found three very large Turtle, one of which was of an uncommon Size, weighing at least 400 Pound, which was looked upon, by those who had been in the *West-Indies*, where many of them are caught, to be one of the largest that ever was taken.

ON the 16th of *April*, we sailed from *St. Jago* toward the *Cape of Good Hope*. When we came to Sea, the *Exeter* sailing something better than we, Sir *Robert Johnson* came up along our Side, and desired Capt. *Cockburn* to let him make the best of his Way for the *Cape*, in hopes there to have join'd company again with the Commodore, and to have given him an account of our coming with all speed, so to have made the Squadron up there. But the Commodore was gone before Sir *Robert* got there, and he made no long Stay after him, but proceeded for *Bombay*; so we saw no more of them till we came there. We had a fine Passage to the *Cape*, arrived there on the 22d of *May*, and found the *Grantham* Store-ship, which had lost company with the Commodore, and had missed joining the *Exeter*. We staid here on or near a Week, and filled all our Water Casks; and on the 30th Instant we left the *Cape*, the *Grantham* in company, and met with a great deal of bad Weather, in beating about the *Cape*, it then being the heighth of their Winter.

IN the latter end of *June* we arrived at *St. Augustine's* Bay on the South Part of the Island of *Madagascar*, where we had an Account that the Commodore and *Shoreham* had been there, and had left Letters for us. But the Pyrates coming in after they sailed, compelled the Natives to deliver to them the Letters the Commodore had left; which they had read at their Mast, as mentioned before.

THE Natives here are all Negroes, and were desirous to trade with us, making Signs to us to anchor before we went into the Bay, which we found to be very rocky and foul Ground, and uncertain Sounding. For on one Side we had 10 or 12 Fathom Water, and on the other could find no Ground

with 30 or 40 Fathom of Line. The Bay being so uncertain in the Sounding, and having no Person on board which had ever been there, we put to Sea again; but the Natives came on board in such Numbers, that we had hardly room for them in the Ship. There were Kings and Princes in familiar Conversation with the private Men on board, importuning them by Signs, and what small *English* they could speak, to desire the Captain to stay, telling us they would bring us *good Cow for eat, much Fat*, and such like Expressions, with many a *G—d d—n ye*, John, *me love you*, which they had learnt of the Pyrates; so that these Expressions may be a Terror to every *English* Christian, to think that their Nation is distinguished by such wicked Execrations.

THE Captain did not care for staying, as we had none on board to give any Account of the Place; so we, with the *Grantham*, made sail again; and in coming out of the Bay, the Canoos or small Boats which they came on board in, were so numerous, that the *Grantham* run one of them down, and brought the King and Prince to Sea with them. But notwithstanding we were at Sea, having small light Winds, and sailing along shore, our Captain made Mr. *John Steele*, the Carpenter, (whom I mentioned before) build them a Boat, and gave them Water and Brandy, with Provisions, and sent them home again. The Year following, we heard that they got safe home, and that they had hung the Boat up in the King's House, in token of the Goodness of the *English*: And it is to be hoped, that Action may be a Means of procuring much Benefit for the *English* Ships that may put in there by Distress of Weather, or for want of Provisions.

THANKS be to God, our Ship's Company continued in good Health; for as yet we had not lost one Man: but about three Days after we left *St. Augustine's* Bay, one of our Men fell over-board, in the Dusk of the Evening. We directly got our Boat out, and came so near him, as to find his Hat, but saw no more of him. We proceeded with all the speed we could for the Island of *Johanna*, sailing with a fine Trade-wind, and running for some Days along shore, where we had regular Soundings for almost three Days together, never altering from 16 Fathom above a quarter of a Fathom.

ON the 25th of *July* we arrived at *Johanna*, where we got Refreshments for our People; it being a plentiful Island for all sorts of Cattle, Fowls, Goats, and fine Fruits, of which you may go ashore and gather what you please. Our Ship's Cook-room was soon furnished with three or four Spits one above another, from four in the Morning till eight at Night; this Refreshment put all our People into good heart again. We tarried here about nine or ten Days, and sailed on the third of *August*, having got Water, and Store of fresh Provisions, which the Inhabitants truck for any manner of old Clothes, Pepper, or the like Commodities.

WE proceeded from hence with all speed for our Station; which was to cruise off the High-land of *St. John*[1] on the Coast of *India*, till the Commodore was pleased to order us in. But in our Passage thither, our first Lieutenant, Mr. *James Elliot*, sickned and died.[2] Our Captain preferred the next Officer in course, Mr. *John Stepney*, to be our first Lieutenant, Mr. *William Berkeley* our second, and his Son Mr. *William Cockburn* to be our third; tho' after we came to *Bombay*, the Commodore put another in his place. After a fine Passage from *Johanna*, about the Beginning of *October* we arriv'd on the Coast of *India*, and made the High-land of *Bassean*, about 10 Leagues to the Northward of *Bombay*, where the *Grantham* took her Leave of us, and went into *Bombay*, saluting us with 17 Guns. We returned them 15, which is the Custom for all King's Ships to return two less than what any Merchant Ship fires. I was the only Man on board acquainted with the Coast, which gain'd me much of the Captain's Favour, and in a manner the whole Charge of the Ship was committed to me, in working up the Coast, and piloting the Ship into *Bombay*, and several other Harbours, of which I have the Captain's Certificate ready to produce. After the *Grantham* had left us, we stood off and on shore as the Land and Sea Breezes would permit; and on the 4th of *October* we made the High-land of *St. John*'s, saw a small Sail, gave Chace to her, and soon spoke with her. She proved to be the *Armell*[3] Sloop belonging to the *East-India* Company,

[1] Sanjān, about 90 miles north of Bombay.

[2] On 13 September.

[3] The *Emilia*.

which by the Commodore's Order had been out twenty Days looking for us ; and that Day her time was out, and she was bearing away for *Bombay* ; where we arrived the next Day.

SO soon as our Anchor was gone, according to Custom, we saluted the Commodore with 19 Guns, and received 17, as is usual, and our Captain went on shore to pay his Respects to the Commodore, and in proper time told him he had made his Son a Lieutenant, but in a Day or two the Commodore made Mr. *James Smith* our third Lieutenant ; who quickly run raving mad with Pride and Ambition, and was sent for *England* in the *Greenwich*, but died by the Way. At the Commodore's Arrival there were some Disputes between him and Governor *Boone* about the Salute, and in what manner he should be received : But this being adjusted, after a short time, and all things agreed between them, they began to consult how to attack *Angria* with Success.

WE found the *Lyon*, *Exeter*, and *Shoreham* Men of War, and the *London*, *Greenwich*, and *Grantham*, *East-India* Ships, lying at *Bombay*, with the Company's Fleet of Frigates, *viz.* the *Britannia*, *Victory*, *Revenge*, *Defiance*, *Fame-Galley*, and *Hunter-Galley*, with several Sail more. There had been a great Dispute between Sir *Robert Johnson* and his Purser, which had caused Sir *Robert* to confine him a Prisoner. And on the 7th of *October*,[1] by Sir *Robert's* Application to the Commodore in the way of Complaint, (the Commodore having hoisted his broad Pennant on board of the *Salisbury*, as his own Ship was heaving down) the Signal was ordered for a Court Martial to be held ; Sir *Robert* having alledged high Crimes and Misdemeanours against his Purser, who was one Mr. *Savage*. The Commodore sat as President, and his Secretary as Judge Advocate, Capt. *Cockburn* first Captain, Capt. *Main* 2d, Sir *Robert Johnson* 3d, Capt. *Reddish* 4th Captain, Lieutenant *Braithwaite* Representative of the 5th Captain. When the Trial came on, the Judge Advocate opened the Case ; which was, that Mr. *Savage* Purser of the *Exeter*, then under Sir *Robert's* Command, was a very drunken beastly Man, and that he was come out of *England* without Money, or any other Con-

[1] Really the 9th. The sentence of the court was that the purser should forfeit ten months' pay. (Capt. Reddish's log : P.R.O., no. 536.)

veniencies for the Supply of the Ship's Company ; and that he had taken the Government's Money, in order to supply such Necessaries as are proper for so long a Voyage ; but had not supplied the Ship with any Tobacco, nor Slop Goods, as is customary for Gentlemen in his Post. And further, that he had converted the Money to his own Use. The Tryal lasted near three Hours, when Sir *Robert* brought his Steward and many other Officers to appear against him. But Mr. *Savage* made it appear, that the *Exeter* being fitted out from *Plymouth*, and he being sent down by Sir *Charles Wager* but a very short time before the Ship left *England* ; he had not had time to receive any Supply from the Government, and that he had put himself to great Streights to buy common Necessaries, which the Ship could not do without ; as Candles and Lanthorns, *&c.* The Commodore several times desired Sir *Robert* not to insist on breaking a Man that had a large Family, and that it was his being poor, which was the Cause of those Neglects, and being obliged to sail directly. Mr. *Savage* declared on his Trial, that he brought but five Farthings out of *England* with him, which indeed made so great an Impression on the Gentlemen in general, that the Commodore and the other Captains thought his Prosecution owing to Spite. And making a strict Enquiry into his Store, it was proved that his Steward had been a very great Rogue to him, for which he was dismissed his Post ; and the Commodore was so considerate, as to order his Secretary to lend Mr. *Savage* 100 *l.* to supply his Occasions. Then the Court ended, with much Dissatisfaction to Sir *Robert*, that he could not break him.

NOW our gay Gentlemen, who were come abroad for Preferment, began to make use of their Interest for Places. Lieutenant *Walker* being something indisposed, desired Leave to return for *England* ; which the Commodore granted, and Mr. *Blakeway*,[1] a Mate on board the *Lyon*, was made Lieutenant of the *Shoreham*, and Lieutenant *Crawford* third Lieutenant on board the *Lyon*. And on account of Mr. *Smith's* going mad,

[1] From the pay book of the *Lion* (P.R.O., no. 303) it appears that James Blakeway joined on 15 November 1720 as a midshipman, but ten days later was promoted to be master's mate. His transfer to the *Shoreham* took place in October 1721.

Mr. *Gideon Russel*[1] was made Lieutenant on board of us in the *Salisbury*; which Captain *Cockburn* much resented, he only having been the Commodore's Cockswain the Voyage before: Tho' Mr. *Russel* was as good a Seaman as need to come on board a Ship, and has since made as good an Officer. Mr. *Blakeway* so soon as he was appointed Lieutenant, made Lieutenant *Walker* a Present of 100 Guineas to defray his Charges home; tho' he came to *England* as fourth Mate of the *Greenwich*, belonging to the *East-India* Company, and had Wages for the same.

MR. *Mitchel* and Mr. *John Sutherland*, Son of my Lord *Sutherland* a *Scots* Peer, (both belonging to the *Exeter*) in their Voyage to *Bombay*, having had some Bickerings; the latter made a Complaint against the former, on which Sir *Robert* turned Mr. *Mitchel* off from the Quarter-Deck. When they came to *Bombay*, Mr. *Mitchel* desired his Discharge, which Sir *Robert* granted: And being on shore, Mr. *Mitchel* demanded Satisfaction, and Mr. *Sutherland* disabled him in his Sword Arm. A short time after, a number of us being at Dinner, at a great Tavern on the Island, as is customary after Dinner the Game of *Hazard* went round; and it was agreed by the Company, how high or low they should set on each Main; which was not to be exceeded by any Person in company. However, Mr. *Sutherland* being seated very near Mr. *David Dalrymple*, they set each other above the Orders of the Board, and Mr. *Sutherland* holding several Hands, took what *Dalrymple* had set. At last he refused to answer the other's Main, which so provok'd Mr. *Dalrymple*, that he told him, *It was like his bastardly Tricks*. *Sutherland* forthwith left the Company and went to his Lodging. Next Morning early he sent his Servant with a Challenge to Mr. *Dalrymple*. The Gentleman was not out of his Bed when the Boy brought the Note, for I lay in the same Room with him; but he directly got up, slipp'd on his Clothes, and said nothing to any one; took his Sword, and

[1] There seems to be here a confusion between Gideon Russell (stated on p. 38 to have died from wounds in 1718) and John Russell, who joined the *Salisbury* from the *Exeter* as second lieutenant, in exchange for Lieut. Berkeley. This, however, seems to have taken place in January 1723, which is much later than the date here assigned.

out he went, no Person having a Suspicion of any Challenge being sent. But in a short time his own Servant came running in, and said Mr. *Sutherland* had killed his Master. We all directly went out to the Back of the Wall at the North Gate, where we found his Body lying on the Spot. The Serjeant of the Guard, with a File of Musketeers had seized Mr. *Sutherland*, and sent him Prisoner to the Fort at *Bombay*. He was wounded in his left Breast between two of his Ribs, and his Heart was prick'd, so that he died directly. Mr. *Sutherland* was by the Commodore demanded from the Castle and sent on board the *Exeter* as a Prisoner, till a Court Martial was held in his Ship, which was in great Hurry and Confusion in heaving down; so that his Trial was deferred for some time.[1] The Soldiers and Troops in the mean while, were all making Preparations for the Siege of *Allabeg*.

A small time after, a Duel was fought by our first and second Lieutenants, Mr. *John Stepney*, and Mr. *William Berkeley* on a trifling Affair, about drinking a Lady's Health. It cost Mr. *Stepney* his Life, for he was wounded so deep in the Belly, that he died of his Wounds about a Fortnight afterward.[2] Mr. *Berkeley* was also wounded in several Places; but tho' they were such intimate Friends all the Voyage before, they never spoke to each other after. Mr. *Stepney* at his Death freely forgave him. Here we lost as fine an Officer as ever *England* bred, for Forecast, and good Behaviour to all Men in general; he was lamented from the Captain to the meanest Man on board the Ship. There was no Trial on this Affair, the Doctor affirming that he did not die of his Wounds. Then one Mr. *Cook* was made our first Lieutenant, and Mr. *Berkeley* still continued second; Mr. *Russel* second on board the *Exeter*, Mr. *Boucher* third on board us, and Mr. *Morgan* third on board the *Exeter*.

HAVING given an Account of the Siege of *Allabeg* in my preceeding *History of the Wars of* Bombay, 'tis needless to mention any thing of it here. I shall now relate the Proceedings of the Court-Martial in Mr. *Sutherland's* Trial for the Murder of Mr. *David Dalrymple*, Grandson to Sir *David*

[1] The court martial on Sutherland was held on 15 November 1721.
[2] Stepney died on 30 November 1721.

Dalrymple, his Majesty's Advocate for *Scotland*. Returning from the Siege of *Allabeg* on the 27th of *December*, the Signal was made on board the Commodore for the Court Martial, which began about nine o'Clock in the Morning, where Mr. *John Sutherland*, was indicted for the Murder of *David Dalrymple*, Esq; by giving him a mortal Wound with a Sword in his left Breast, and for sending the said *David Dalrymple* a Challenge, contrary to the Articles of War and Customs of the Navy. He pleaded guilty and seem'd much concerned for the unhappy Accident. The Court brought him in guilty of the Murder, and he was ordered on board his own Ship, there to be confined as a Prisoner till their Return to *England*, for his Majesty's signing of the Dead-Warrant. But as the Ship touch'd at *Barbadoes* coming home, he there made his Escape, and tarried till his Pardon was sent from *England*.

Mr. *Parker* and Mr. *Braddyll*,[1] who had run to the *Portuguese* for Refuge, were come under the Commodore's Protection; whom he sent home in the *Greenwich*, in company with Governor *Boone* in the *London*. There being a Proposal made to the Captains at different times to agree to Articles of Trade, (which were delivered to them in Writing) that provided they would agree that a certain Officer[2] should have two Thirds of what they got, he would send them on such Voyages as were proper for their Benefit: These Gentlemen were no ways willing to come under this Obligation, kept their Papers, and would not sign them; which very much inraged the Proposer, who finding he could not help himself, began to resent it, so far as his Power could reach. The Hon. Governour *Charles Boone* had a Daughter,[3] to whom Mr. *John Johnson*, Sir *Robert*'s eldest Son and his second Lieutenant, had made Proposals of Marriage; and the same had been approved of both by the Governor and Sir *Robert*. The Governor desired that Mr. *Johnson* might obtain his Discharge, and proceed for *England* in the *Chandois*; but the Commodore would not grant it, and

[1] See the introduction. [2] Presumably Mathews.

[3] Boone was a widower at this time, and had had by his late wife only a son. He took home with him an Elizabeth Boone whom it is difficult to place; but she may have been a daughter of the Governor's brother Thomas, who was also one of the party.

the more to prevent it, being bound f·r *·rat*, a Signal was made for all Lieutenants, and the *Shore·am* and *Exeter* were ordered to weigh with the Commodore, and we only to observe all Motions except in mooring and weighing. When they were at Sea off the High-land of *St. John*'s, the Commodore made the Signal for Sir *Robert* to come on board, and then gave him Order to proceed directly for *Goa*, and there to purchase Arrack for the Use of the whole Squadron ; with the other Particulars, as mentioned before, in the History of the *Indian* War.

ON the 30th of *January* 1721–2, we parted from *Bombay* for *Goa* in search after Sir *Robert Johnson* Captain of the *Exeter*, leaving Capt. *Maine* in the *Shoreham* to be refitted, with order to join us again at *Madrass* or *Bengal*. The Commodore had appointed Capt. *Braithwaite* to command the *Exeter*, in the room of Sir *Robert Johnson*, whom he dismissed for not following Orders ; [1] and in *Tillicherry* Road Capt. *Braithwaite* took possession of the *Exeter*, and Sir *Robert* and his youngest Son were put on shore. Sir *Robert* and his two Sons were afterwards cast away in their Passage to *England*, as mentioned before.

IN *February* we left the Coast of *Malabar*, with the *Lyon*, *Salisbury*, and *Exeter* in company.[2] The first Place we touch'd at after we left *Malabar*, was at the Island of *Moroslas*, at *Carpenter*'s Bay, where we got great Plenty of Fish, Wood, and Water. There is abundance of fine Wood on that Island, such as black and white Ebony, *Brasil* Wood, and several sorts of other fine Woods. We had on board two Casks of *English* Beef, which stunk to such a degree, that our Captain could not bear his Cabin. We complained of this, but did not meet with any Relief ; which very much disheartned and sour'd our Ship's Crew : Why we were forced to eat such Meat, was to us very strange, for at Madagascar we could buy fine Bullocks for a Dollar a-head ; nay, I bought a fine Bullock my self for a *China* Punch Bowl filled with Pepper, which I had taken up on the Island of *St. Mary*. All the Wine that was bought at *Madrass*, which continued good, was sold ; and that which was turn'd to Vinegar, was sent on board of the

[1] The date of his dismissal was 12 February 1722.

[2] The notes on Downing's earlier account of the cruise should be consulted.

Exeter, *Shoreham*, and us, and the Ships Crews compelled to drink the same, before any Arrack was allowed us.

IN the Head of this Harbour there is Capt. *Carpenter*'s Tomb, where the Pyrates had wrote with a Piece of Charcoal, that they left that Place in the Beginning of *January*,[1] and were proceeding for *Port Dolphin*. This made us hurry with all speed for that Port, in hopes to have met with them, it being reported that they were full of Riches, which put Vigour and Courage in the Heart of every Man and Boy in the whole Squadron. We sailed from *Moroslas* about the middle of *March*, and came to *Domascaicas*, where the *French* inhabit, who saluted the Commodore at his Arrival. We came to *St. Philip*'s Bay,[2] where there is a fine large Town and a strong Fort guarded by several Companies of Soldiers. Here a great Quantity of Arrack was disposed of, and 20 Hogsheads were taken out of us, and sent on shore.

AT this Island Provisions are plenty, but the Inhabitants very poor. We lay here but two Days. There are fine Turkeys, which when they are prepared for the Spit, weigh upwards of 40 Pound. They are very fat, and the Flesh of them fine and good. We sail'd the third Day in the Morning, and shaped our Course for *Cape Amber*,[3] where we thought to beat about in order for *Port Dolphin*. We had no Account of the Pyrates at *Domascaicas*, they having heard nothing of them ever since they had taken the Viceroy of *Goa* out of the Road. We happened to be too late in the Year to reach *Port Dolphin*, for the Monsoons were now set in on the South-side the Island, and therefore we were obliged to bear away, after having beat the Sea about a Fortnight, and so run round to the Leeward of *Cape Amber*, and came to *St. Mary*'s Island, the Place Capt. *Avery*[4] resorted to, and then fortified the same very strongly; tho' it was much run to Ruin now, by reason of the Negroes Neglect, and the Pyrates not regarding it as formerly.

ON the 18th of *April* 1722, we arrived at *Charnock Point*,

[1] On p. 60 the date is given as 28 February.

[2] The log kept by the master of the *Salisbury* says St. Paul's Bay, which is on the north-west side of Réunion.

[3] The northernmost point of Madagascar.

[4] Henry Every, or Avery, the well-known pirate.

where we by Order of the Commodore weighed, and went up to *St. Mary*'s Island; he sending Lieutenant *Crawford* on board of us, to see in what Condition the said Island was. We anchored off the Island. On the 19th about Noon, the King and Prince, and the King's two Daughters came on board. The King offered the Captain his two Daughters as a Present, being what they used to offer amongst the Pyrates; for they thought we were all alike: But tho' the Captain refused this kind Offer, the Ladies were accepted of by some of our Officers, who paid dear enough for the Honour; for it cost one of them his Life, and the other was well pepper'd. The King gave the Captain and the Lieutenants an Invitation to come on shore, and at their Landing, the King made them swear by the Sea, that they would be Friends to them, and not molest them; and for a further Confirmation, they compelled every one of them to drink a Glass of Salt Water, mix'd with Gun-powder, in token of Friendship; it being a Ceremony they had learned from the Pyrates. We had not staid here above three or four Hours before we saw great Numbers of Canoos coming down from the Northward, from a Place called *Ranter-Bay*. I should have mention'd that before we came off the Coast of *Malabar*, we met with the *Dawson*, Capt. *Benson* [1] Commander, a Ship belonging to the *East India* Company, out of her we took the fourth Mate,[2] there having been a very great Quarrel between the Captain and him, and one Ensign *Crichley*, an Officer belonging to the Company of Soldiers, who was going up to settle at *Bombay*. Also the Commodore spoke with an *Ostend* Ship belonging to the Emperor, out of which he took Mr. *Samuel Lake*, and one Mr. *Lee*, who were Mates on board the said Ship; and at *Madrass* meeting of the *King George* on her Voyage to *China*, the Commodore put them both on

[1] A mistake for 'Benfield' (Richard).

[2] Christopher Lisle (see later). Benfield seems to have been a very quarrelsome person, for he dismissed his second and third mates as well. A complaint by the last-named called forth a rejoinder by the captain, who mentioned that at the time of the dispute Christopher Lisle was in irons and Daniel Christie, a passenger (probably the Crichley of the text), was drinking with him. Christie resented the interference and took the captain by the collar, with the result that he too was put in irons. (*Bombay Consultations*, 7 September 1722.)

board of her.[1] These Canoos were in hopes that we were some of the Pyrates ; for they value them most as they sell them the best Bargains. At a Distance they lay by, and look'd at us, but did not care to venture on board ; tho' we could distinguish many white Men amongst them : So not liking us, they row'd over to the Bay again. While we were taking a particular Survey of the Island, we observ'd the Ruins of several brave Ships which the Pyrates had destroyed there, with the chief Parts of their Cargoes, all lying on the shore in a wasting condition ; the Negroes not knowing the Value of any of these rich Commodities. I went on shore to take a Draught of the Island, and brought off several Bags full of what I thought most valuable, and made good Money of the same. The Commodore's Lieutenant being on board with us, and seeing what a confused manner every thing lay in about the Island, returned that afternoon down to the Commodore, and gave him an Account of all things which were there, and what confused Order they lay in. The Commodore the next Day made a Signal for us to come down to *Charnock Point*, which accordingly we did, and the Commodore with the *Exeter* went up to *St. Mary*'s, where the Ships Crews took what they thought proper. While our Ship was watering at *Charnock Point*, I being on shore, met with a white Man that lived at *Ranter-Bay* ; it something surprized me when he first came down, he having in company with him 20 Negroes well armed. He asked many Questions concerning our Ships, from whence we came, *&c.* But at last he let me understand, that he well knew we were the Men of War who came in search of the Pyrates. I asked him who he was ? He said his Name was *James Plantain*, and that he was born at *Chocolate-hole* in the Island of *Jamaica* ; that there were a great many of these People on the Island, and that Capt. *England* had been there also ; that the *Cassandra* was made a 40 Gun-Ship, and the great Ship they took from the *Portuguese* mounted Seventy Guns ; and that they were sailed for the Coast of *Guinea*, or the *Spanish West-Indies*, in order

[1] The *King George* left Madras on 18 June 1722, while Mathews did not reach that port until about the middle of the following month. The ledger of that vessel shows a John Lee and a Samuel Sykes (not Lake) as joining the *King George* together on 2 April 1722 at Surat.

to accept of the *Spanish* \ct of Grace. Our six-oar'd Boat coming on shore at that time, I directly dispatched her to our Captain, who with Lieutenant *Cook* came on shore in order to have seized the said *Plantain*. But seeing him so well provided, they durst not attempt it : However, the Captain and he had a great deal of Discourse ; and according to an Invitation he had given us, some of us went up into the Country, and sent down several Head of Cattle, which serv'd as fresh Provision for the Ship's Company.

FROM *Charnock-Point* we proceeded for *Cape Amber*, and *Mannagore*, where we lay a considerable time ; and the *Exeter* was sent to *Massaleage*, where she run a-ground, but got off again. Here we took a few Negroes, which we afterwards sent to *Massembeach* in the *Exeter*. From hence we proceeded for *Johanna*, and the Commodore ordered the *Exeter* to go for *Massembeach*. We were left lying off *Johanna*, and the Commodore went to *Madrass* and *Bengal*, not very likely Places to find the Pyrates. The Island of *Johanna* I have mentioned before, but now lying here so long, we had the Liberty of going on shore, to take our Pleasure, and gather such Fruit as the Island afforded. As I was walking up and down the Valley, where a fine Spring of Water issues out of a Rock, having a young Lad with me, my Curiosity led me to the Top of the Hill, where I observed a large Town well peopled : But at sight of me, they all run into their Houses. They had been killing of a Bullock, but such Butchers sure were never heard of ; for they cut it all to Pieces, Hide, Hair and all, and put it into earthen Vessels that were boiling over a Fire. The very Guts after they had squeez'd out the Dung, without ever washing the same, they cut in pieces and broiled. The same Day I took a Walk to the King's Town, about three Miles from where our Ship lay : Here were some few Stone Houses, but laid together in an odd sort of a way. They were building a large Vessel to go to *Mocha*, which they sew'd together artificially, and made firm Work ; they generally sail well. When we were here the Year before, one *Davis* a Sailor run away from us ; and looking about in a small Mosque they had there, being all *Mahometans*, I saw *Francis Davis* wrote with a Piece of Coal against the white Wall ; and

then enquiring after him, they told me he was gone for *Mocha* in one of their Vessels.[1]

ABOUT three Weeks after the Commodore left us, the *Exeter* came in to *Johanna*, we being under Order to stay there for her; she had been at *Massembeach* to purchase a great quantity of Cowries. We were then ordered to cruise off the Straits of *Babelmondon* till the 25th of *August*; but our Captain being Commodore, and consulting what was best for the People's Health, did not care how long we lay here, well knowing it would be very hard to keep the Sea so many Months. We tarried here till the latter End of *July*, and then we cruised off and on shore till we came to *Allatabenney* Bay,[2] where we joined the *Dawson* and *Fame-Galley* bound for *Bombay*, which were the Ships we were looking out for. When we arrived at *Bombay*, we had an Account of the Wars between the *Portuguese* and the *English*; and we assisted our Countrymen by the Commodore's Orders. We all thought ourselves happy in having a good Commander; but the Commodore now order'd, by a Packet over-land from *Bengal* to *Bombay*, the Captain of the *Exeter* to come on board the *Salisbury*, and that Capt. *Cockburn* should go on board the *Exeter*. When Capt. *Braithwaite* came on board of us, we proceeded for *Surat*, and there purchas'd Bread for the Fleet. When Capt. *Cockburn* came down from *Surat*, there was a great Difference between him and the Commodore, who alledged that Capt. *Cockburn* had acted contrary to his Orders, on which the Captain was confin'd a whole Week to his Cabin, and every one thought that he would have been brought before a Court Martial. Some Days after Capt. *Cockburn* was confined, the Commodore's Lieutenant, and Capt. *Braithwaite* came to see him, and would have had him ask the Commodore's Pardon, which the brave old Gentleman refused, not thinking himself at all culpable. After

[1] From the pay book of the *Salisbury* we learn that Francis Davis joined as an able seaman on 23 January 1721 and deserted at Johanna on 26 August following.

[2] This seems to be what is now known as Ghubbet Binna, just to the north of Cape Binna and about twelve leagues south of Cape Guardafui. The log of the *Salisbury* records that the ships lay there from 20 to 25 July. The *Dawson* and *Fame* were not met with until 18 August, in the Gulf of Aden.

this the Commodore ordered him his Liberty, and to get his Ship in Readiness to sail for *England*.

BENGAL[1] being a very cheap Place for Pork, and all other sorts of Provisions, we here killed a great quantity of Hogs, which were cut out according to the usual Form of the Navy; that is, two Pound for three Men at short Allowance. But by the time they had been in Salt about two Months, you might have put a whole Piece in your Mouth at two Mouth-fuls. This occasioned a good deal of grumbling. The *Exeter* in *December*[2] took her Departure from *Bombay* for *England*, and touch'd at *Madrass* in her way home; and there she join'd company with several of the *Madrass* and *Bengal* Ships, and proceeded for the *Cape* and *St. Helena*. At *Barbadoes* she was obliged to touch for want of Provisions, and there Mr. *Sutherland* made his Escape, and tarried till he had a Pardon granted. The *Exeter* in *June* following arrived safe in *England*. The *Lyon* and *Salisbury* staid almost two Years[3] longer in the Country.

WHEN the *Salisbury* had taken in what Freight they thought proper, designing for the Coast of *Arabia* again, she run down the Coast of *India* in quest of the Commodore's small Ship and Brigantine, then taking in a Cargo of Rice at *Mangalore*, which was purchased by Mr. *Wake*, an eminent Merchant, who had also taken in a Cargo of Rice on board his own Ship the *Fancy*, the Ship the Pyrates had given Capt. *Mackray* in the room of the *Cassandra*, which belonged to the *East-India* Company. The *Salisbury* joining these Ships at *Mangalore*, they took on board what they had need of for their Ships Companies, and proceeded all for *Mocha*, having on board the *Salisbury*, *Norreja*,[4] the Company's Broker;

[1] 'Bombay' seems to be intended.

[2] 13 January 1723 is the right date.

[3] Less than one.

[4] Navroji Rustomji was one of the three sons of the late broker at Surat, from whom the Company's factors claimed a considerable sum. His enterprise in going to England to lay the case before their employers obtained a fitting reward; for, on the matter being referred to the arbitration of four of the directors, he was awarded the sum of £19,125. (See the Court's letter to Bombay of 2 April 1725, para. 81.) He returned to Bombay in the *Windham*, as here stated.

who afterwards came to *England*, where he was received and entertained after the best manner, by the *East-India* Company. For *Rustrum Norreja* had been of great Service to the Company, as had also his Father many Years before him; being employed as the Company's Broker. He was sent to *Surat* again, after he had been some time in *England*, on board the *Windham*, Capt. *Robert Lyon*.[1]

CAPTAIN *Braithwaite* now proceeded for *Mocha*, and thence returned to Fort *St. David* on the Coast of *Coromandel*, about forty Leagues to the Southward of Fort *St. George* or *Madrass*; here the *Salisbury* was to join the *Lyon* and *Shoreham*. After this, the *Salisbury*'s Order was to proceed for *Madrass*, and there to take in such Provisions as the Commodore had left for them, and then to proceed for *England*; which accordingly they did, having no other Passengers on board but *Rustrum Norreja*, who embarked several valuable Effects with him. In their Passage homeward bound, they touch'd at the *Cape of Good Hope*, and *St. Helena*, where they took in Water, but no fresh Provisions. The Men were in good heart, tho' their Victuals were very bad and small. For this reason, it was thought proper, after a Consultation of the Officers, to steer for *Barbadoes*, in order to refresh the Ship's Crew, with Provisions, Wine and Water. In the mean time, the Pump was directly put in the Water-Cask, and every Man had as much Water as he could drink; which at that time was very refreshing, being in a hot Climate, and nothing but salt Provisions. This Refreshment of Water preserv'd many of their Healths and Lives. After their Arrival at *Barbadoes*, Capt. *Braithwaite* was very good to his Men, and those that were sick, were sent on shore to the Hospital, and the others had leave to go on shore to refresh themselves.

THE *Salisbury* having refreshed her Crew, began to get in Readiness for sailing, and took on board such Provisions as the Island afforded them. In *March* 1723,[2] they arrived at *Spithead*, where they were shortly after paid off.

THE Commodore having only the *Shoreham* in company took a cruising Voyage round several Parts of *India*, then

[1] Lyell (see p. 49).

[2] 1724. As a matter of fact, the *Salisbury* reached Spithead on 18 April.

returned to *Bombay*, to clean his Ship ; after which about the End of *February* he sailed for the Gulph of *Persia*, and put into some Harbours on the Coast of *Arabia*, where he purchased some Horses. From *Arabia*, he returned again to *Surat*, and from thence came to *Bombay*, where he pack'd up all his Effects, in order to sail for *England*. From *Bombay* he proceeded down to *Carwar*, where he went on shore to take his Leave of Governor *Taylor*. In the Month of *November* 1723, the *Lyon* came again from *Mocha* and *Arabia* to *Bombay*, in order to take on board twelve of their Guns which were left on shore with abundance of Water-Casks and other Stores.

THE *Shoreham* being again returned to *Bombay*, from a Voyage the Commodore had sent her to look after the Merchants Trade he had left down the Coast, it was thought now proper to touch at *Mocha*, and from thence to *Fort St. David*'s, there to join the *Madrass* and *Bengal* Ships, and to proceed for *England* in company together ; but being too soon in the Year, he could not go to *Mocha* : So after he had fitted and repaired his Ships, and had got all things in Readiness, in *December* 1723 he left *Bombay*, in order to proceed for *England*, with the *Shoreham* in his company. They did not make much Stay on the Coast, except a small time at *Goa*, *Carwar* and *Tillicherry*. At *Goa* they took on board some Arrack, then touching at *Anjango*, the Commodore made a Demand of such Effects as Mrs. *Giffard* said she had left there. From *Anjango* they proceeded for *Fort St. David's*. Here Lieutenant *Caldicut* laid down his Commission, and married a Widow Lady [1] with a great Fortune, with whom he settled in *India*. The Commodore having near finished his Business at *Fort St. David*'s, resolved to leave the *Shoreham* to compleat what remained, and proceeded to *Madrass*, where he join'd the *Walpole*, Capt. *Botham*,[2] from *China*, and the *Lethulier*, Capt. *Shepherd*, from *Bengal*. In a short time, the *Shoreham*, arrived from *Fort St. David*'s where they join'd the *Fordwich*,

[1] The India Office records show that Miller Caldecott was married to Mrs. Jane Berlu on 3 November 1723 at Fort St. David. Her husband, John Berlu, the Second in Council, had shot himself on 26 August preceding.

[2] Charles Boddam (see note on p. 28).

and came all home in company, touching at the *Cape of Good Hope* for Refreshment in their Passage, and next at *St. Helena*, according to Custom. All Ships belonging to the Company are obliged to touch at *St. Helena*, and to leave a quantity of Rice and Bread, for the Support of the Town and Factory, if they can conveniently spare it. The poorer sort of the Inhabitants of the Island eat Yams and Potatoes instead of Bread, which they seldom taste, except some Ship belonging to the Company is in the Road. Governor *Pike*[1] formerly built a Boat, which he sometimes would send on the Back of the Island a fishing, for the Benefit of the Inhabitants. But the Men which were sent in her, being pretty good Mariners, contriv'd to get such Provisions in the Boat as they thought convenient; and instead of going a fishing, they put to Sea, and run in that Boat down to *Barbadoes*. Ever since this Affair, the Governors of *St. Helena* have been very careful how they send out any Fishing-Boats.

IN the latter End of *July*, the Commodore arrived in the *Downs*; having been three Years and five Months abroad. The *Shoreham* was ordered for *Woolwich*, to be paid off; as was the *Lyon* for *Portsmouth*.

[1] Isaac Pyke was Governor from 1714 to 1719 and again from 1731 to his death in July 1738.

AN ADDITIONAL

HISTORY

OF THE

INDIAN WARS,

Betwixt the

GREAT MOGUL,

AND

ANGRIA and his Allies.

To which is Prefix'd,

A particular ACCOUNT of *John Plantain*, a Pyrate; who after continuing on the Island of *Madagascar* near eight Years, join'd *Angria*, who made him his Chief Admiral.

Also a Brief RELATION of *Plantain's* Wars on the Island of *Madagascar*, against the King of *Massaleage*, and King *Kelly* of *Mannagore*, &c.

THE HISTORY OF *JOHN PLANTAIN*, CALLED King of *Ranter-Bay*, &c.

ON the 20th[1] of *April*, in the Year 1721, we arrived with the *Lyon*, *Salisbury*, and *Exeter*, at *Charnock Point*, a Place on the Island of *Madagascar*, much frequented by the Pyrates for many Years before. The Remains of Capt. *Avery*'s Fortification were then to be seen, as also part of the Cargoes of several Merchant Ships, which were destroyed by these Monsters, and more particularly by the Person we are now to speak of.

JOHN[2] *PLANTAIN* was born in *Chocolate-Hole*, on the Island of *Jamaica*, of *English* Parents, who took care to bestow on him the best Education, they themselves were possess'd of; which was to curse, swear, and blaspheme, from the time of his first learning to speak. This is generally the chief Education bestowed on the Children of the common People in those Parts. He was sent to School to learn to read, which he once could do tolerably well; but he quickly forgot the same, for want of practising it. The Account he gave of his first falling into that wicked and irregular Course of Life, was, That after he was about thirteen Years of Age, he went as Master's

[1] It was the 17th, according to the log kept by the master of the *Salisbury*. On p. 85 Downing himself says the 18th. The year should be 1722.

[2] On pp. 61 and 87 he is called James.

Servant on board a small Sloop belonging to *Spanish-Town*,[1] on the Island of *Jamaica*, and they went out a privateering and to cut Logwood in the Bay of *Campeachy*;[2] where they generally used to maroon the *Spaniards*, and the *Spaniards* used to maroon them, as the one or t'other happened to be strongest. He followed this Course of Life till he was near 20 Years of Age, when he came to *Rhode-Island*; there he fell into company with several Men who belonged to a Pyrate Sloop. These try'd to persuade him, with several others, to go with them; shewing great Sums of Gold, and treating him and others in a profuse and expensive Manner. His own wicked Inclinations soon led him to accept the Offer, without much Hesitation. At the same time, he acknowledged that he had no Occasion to go with them, as he belonged to a very honest Commander, and one that used the Sailors very well on all Accounts. But being of a roving Disposition, he could not bear being under any Restraint. They soon went on board this Pyrate Sloop, and were entertained in a handsome manner, being presented to the Captain, who seem'd to like them very well, and told them if they would sail with him, they should have the same Encouragement as the other People had, and that they should in a short time take a Voyage which would prove the making of them all; after this they design'd to accept the first Act of Grace, and leave off. They left *Rhode-Island* in this Sloop which they called the *Terrible*, commanded by *John Williams*; and one *Roberts*, being a bold and resolute Man, was made Quarter-master. With *John Plantain*, entered the following five, *viz.* *John James* of *Boston* in *New-England*, *Henry Millis* of *Falmouth* in the West of *England*; *Richard Dean* of *Stepney*, *London*; *John Harvey* of *Shadwell*; and *Henry Jones* of *St. Paul's*, *London*; all young Men, the oldest not being above 23 Years of Age. When ever any enter on board of these Ships voluntarily, they are obliged to sign all their Articles of Agreement; which is in effect, to renounce Honour, and all human Compassion; for they seldom shew any Mercy to those who fall into their Hands.

[1] Eleven miles from Kingston.

[2] In the Gulf of Mexico, in lat. 19° 50′ N.

FROM *Rhode-Island* they shaped their Course for the Coast of *Guinea*, and in their way took three Ships, amongst the Crews of which was Mr. *Moore* the Surgeon, spoken of in the Account of Commodore *Matthews*'s Transactions. They pretended to give Liberty to those Ships Crews either to go or stay with them. The Boatswain of the Ship to which Mr. *Moore* belonged, entered voluntarily, and would have used his Captain and several of the Men very barbarously; but *Roberts*, who was then Quarter-master, would not allow of it. They kept the Surgeon and Carpenter by Compulsion, when they found they chose to leave them; and took one of the Ships, which prov'd to be the best Sailor, and called her the *Defiance*. Now they had got a Ship of near 300 Tuns, which mounted 30 Guns, well mann'd and well stored with Provisions. They usually are at no certain Allowance amongst themselves, till they are in a Likelihood of being short of Provision, but every Man is allowed to eat what he pleases. Then they put all under the care of their Quarter-master, who discharges all things with an Equality to them all, every Man and Boy faring alike; and even their Captain, or any other Officer, is allowed no more than another Man; nay, the Captain cannot keep his own Cabbin to himself, for their Bulk-heads are all down, and every Man stands to his Quarters, where they lie and mess, tho' they take the liberty of ranging all over the Ships.

THIS large Ship they took was bound for *Jamaica*, called the *Prosperous* of *London*, one Capt. *James* Commander; whom, and so many of his Crew as were not willing to go with them, they put on board those two other Vessels they let go. The *Prosperous* had on board a considerable number of *East-India* Bales, which they hoisted up on Deck, and cut open; the Quarter-master distributing the same amongst the Pyrates. They arrived in a short time on the Coast of *Guinea*, and kept all the trading Ships from carrying on any manner of Commerce at *Gambo*,[1] and the other Ports on that Coast. Here they met with the *Onslow*, whom they fought a considerable time; but the Pyrates being well mann'd, boarding her, made sad Havock of her Crew, and brought them to cry out

[1] The Gambia River settlements.

for Quarter, which is but very indifferent at best; so when they had taken her, they made one of their number whose Name was *England*, a Man who had been Mate of several good Ships, Captain of her. *Plantain* and his Companions were daily encreasing their Store; for not long after they took the *Onslow*, they mastered a *Dutch* Interloper, with whom they had a smart Battle, and had not the Sloop came to their Assistance, they would have been obliged to let her go. But the Sloop coming up, and pouring a great number of Men on board, they soon over-powered them. This Ship they liked exceeding well, and were resolved to keep her, calling her the *Fancy*;[1] and Capt. *England* having a mind to her, they allowed him to command her.

THEY daily now encreased their number, and were not for keeping so many Ships, imagining they should soon have a Squadron of Men of War after them, which they did not care to have any Correspondence with. Now Capt. *England* proposed a new Voyage to them, which might be the making of them all very rich; and as they had got such good Ships under their Command, they were resolved to make the best of their present Situation. First they proposed to burn the *Terrible* Sloop, being old and leaky, and not fit to beat about the *Cape*. So having finished their Cruise on the Coast of *Guinea*, they were resolved to steer another way. These Pyrates had now got the *Fancy* under the Command of Capt. *England*, and a small Brigantine called the *Unity*, which they named the *Expedition*, and gave the Command to one *Johnson* that was with them; tho' one Quarter-master serv'd for them all. And being in great Dispute how and which way they should dispose of each other, they went on shore on the Coast of *Guinea*, and there held a fresh Consultation, when some were for going with Capt. *England*, and some with Capt. *Roberts*. These Disputes lasted for some time, but it was left to a Committee chose from among them, on whose Determination they resolved to rely. They had now six or seven Ships with them, on which account it was resolved,

[1] I am indebted to Mr. S. C. Hill for a reference to the *British Journal* of 14 September 1723, from which it appears that the previous name of this vessel was the *Merry Christmas*.

that *England* and *Roberts* should separate, for fear of a Civil War amongst themselves. *England* was to take the *Fancy*, the *Snow*,[1] and the Ship they called the *Victory*, and go away for the *East-Indies* ; and *Roberts* and the rest were to continue and range about those Seas, as they thought fit. *Roberts* afterwards fell into the Hands of Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, and by him was brought to Justice, and he and his Crew were hung up in Chains along the Coast of *Guinea*, from *Cape-Coast-Castle*.[2]

CAPT. *England* took to the Eastern Seas, and came away for *St. Augustine*'s Bay, on the Island of *Madagascar*, and his People being very sickly, the Doctor had them sent on shore for the Recovery of their Healths ; but several died. Here they cleared their Ship as well as they could, *St. Augustine*'s Bay being a Place not extraordinary convenient for Shipping to lie in, on account of the Foulness of the Ground in the Bottom of the Harbour, and the irregular Sounding, on which account a Ship can no ways come to anchor there, to continue any time ; nay, not so much as four or five Hours : For 'tis a hundred to one, should the Anchor go in the Ground, or amongst the Rocks, if ever 'tis got up again. But there is a Road to the Southward of the Harbour, where you may anchor in six or seven Fathom Water : Here is smooth Riding, and the Inhabitants will come off to trade with you ; but be careful how you trust them, for they are a more politick and cunning People than the Negroes of the *Guinea* or *Gold Coast*, very crafty in their way of Trade, and private in their Intentions, speak you fair, but intend to murder you at the same time. They have five or six petty Kings near one another, who are in Alliance together. Here Capt. *England* lay in the Road, and repaired all his Rigging, and got a Supply of Provisions. From hence he came on the Coast of *Ethiopia*,

[1] Probably this was intended as a description, not the name, of a vessel; cf. the reference to the *Expedition* on p. 102. A snow was a kind of brig.

[2] Bartholomew Roberts's two ships were captured by Capt. Challoner Ogle in February 1722, and fifty-two of the pirates were executed. Roberts himself had been killed in the fight. Ogle was knighted as a reward. For an account of the cruise see Johnson's *General History of the Pyrates* (2nd ed., vol. i, p. 208).

with his two Ships, and went to the *Portuguese* at *Massembeach*, who supposed them to belong to the *English East-India* Company. After they had got a fresh Supply of Provisions, they sailed to the Island of *Johanna*, where they lay some time, and then cruised off the *Streights* Mouth of *Babelmondon*, or the *Red-sea*, where they took a *Moors* Ship, richly laden, coming down from *India*. They then made the best of their way for *Madagascar*, and went to *St. Mary*'s Island, where none of their Fraternity had been for many Years, and were very joyfully received by the King. This Island joins to the Continent of *Madagascar*, and is generally a Place of Residence for Pyrates. Here they made a sad Massacre of the poor *Moors* Men, they had taken in the Ship above-mentioned, and abused their Women in a very vile manner. Some say, that Capt. *England* kept one or two of the *Moors* Women for his own Use, there being some of Distinction amongst them, whose Fathers were in high Posts under the Great Mogul.

THEY brought the *Moors* Ship's Cargo to a quick Market, and made Sale of what they could ; and Part of the rest they cast in heaps on the Beach, to be spoil'd by the Winds and Weather. The Ship, they found, was not answerable for their Purpose ; on which account they haled her on shore, and sunk her, with some part of her Cargo on board, which was neglected by the Inhabitants, who knew not the Value nor Use of those rich Commodities. They took up their Winter-Quarters at this Place, and replenished their Store : Before they sunk the *Moors* Ship, they made a Sort of a Hulk of her, and hove down their other Ships the *Fancy*, and *Snow*, which they called the *Expedition* ; and made a clean Ship ; this was in the Year 1719. They then came to *Johanna*, where they found the *Cassandra* and *Greenwich* ; the former commanded by Capt. *Mackray*, and the latter by Capt. *Kirby*. Capt. *Mackray* maintain'd a Noble Fight for a whole Day, and had not the Ship drove ashore, 'tis thought that he would have cleared himself of the Pyrates ; who themselves own'd that he galled them bitterly, and killed them a great number of Men. The Captain and most of his Men were obliged to fly up into the Country ; where the People happen'd to be civilized, and afforded them Refuge. The Pyrate in a few

Days sent for the Captain and his Crew down, and used them with good Manners, and agreed amongst themselves to give the Captain the *Fancy*, in Consideration of his Loss, and they gave him likewise several Bales of Cloth which they thought would be of no Service to them. As to his Men, they suffered all of them to go with him, except his Carpenter's Mate, whom they compelled to remain with them.

THE Year after, they came on the Coast of *Malabar*, and met with the *London* fitted out on Purpose to engage them, in company with several other Ships. But instead of that, the whole *Bombay* Fleet seem'd afraid to attack them, but burn'd the *Prahm* themselves, a fine floating Engine which mounted 24 Guns, (as mentioned before) and then retired into the Harbour of *Bombay*.

THE Pyrates after this steer'd for *Domascaicas*, and there fell in with a large Ship belonging to the *Portuguese*; and hoisting *English* Colours, the *Portuguese* judged them to be an *English* Ship which had lost their Passage as well as themselves, and made all things ready to salute each other. In the mean time, the Pyrates got all their Guns in Readiness, and came ranging up her Side, and never once offered to fire a Gun till they were near enough to board, and then dozed them with double Round and *Partridge*,[1] so that the Shot went through and through them. They cut their Cable, and away they went with her. This proved a very rich Prize. They also took another *Moors* Ship the Year after coming from *China*, by which they got immense Riches. The great Ship they took from the *Portuguese*, they caused afterward to mount 70 Guns, and on board the *Cassandra* they mounted 40; by which they thought themselves sole Masters of all the *Indian* Seas. They after came down to *Madagascar*, and there they refitted again at *Port Dolphin*, and from thence they went to *Charnock Point*. Here they took out of the Ships they had with them, all the Eatables, Liquors, Money, Jewels, Diamonds; and left on shore fine *China* and other valuable Goods, enough to have laden a large Ship with. They now held a Consultation what they should do; several were for leaving off, and living on what they had; others of a more

[1] A charge for cannon, answering to the grape-shot of later days.

covetous Disposition, were for still continuing in their unlawful Practices. However, the Majority wanted Capt. *England* to leave those Parts, and to go down to *La Vera Cruz*, and there to accept of the *Spanish* Act of Grace. They were now divided in Opinion what was best for them to do; for they had heard at *St. Augustine*'s Bay, that Commodore *Matthews* was arrived in quest of them, by his Letters left there for the *Salisbury*: which Letters the Natives gave them. On this they steer'd for *Port Dolphin*, and from thence to *Moroslas*. They knew what Season was coming on, and how we were obliged to shape our Course. We came after in the *Salisbury*, and they told us, that the Pyrates had got our Letters. On which Information, they dispersed themselves, and some went to one Place, and some to another.

PLANTAIN, *James Adair*, and *Hans Burgen* the *Dane*, had fortified themselves very strongly at *Ranter-Bay*; and taken possession of a large Tract of Country. *Plantain* having the most Money of them all, called himself King of *Ranter-Bay*, and the Natives commonly sing Songs in praise of *Plantain*. He brought great Numbers of the Inhabitants to be subject to him, and seem'd to govern them arbitrarily; tho' he paid his Soldiers very much to their Satisfaction. He would frequently send Parties of Men into other Dominions, and seize the Inhabitants Cattle. He took upon him to make War, and to extort Tribute from several of the petty Kings his Neighbours, and to encrease his own Dominions.

JAMES ADAIR's Birth and Education was something superior to that of *Plantain*; for he was learnt to write as well as read; and had been brought up in the Town of *Leith*, by a sober and industrious Father and Mother. Not behaving to the Satisfaction of his Parents, he went for *London*, and from thence, for the *West-Indies*; but was taken by the Pyrates, and after that entered voluntarily with them. He was a young Man of a very hard Countenance, but something inclined to Good-Nature. When we bartered with the Pyrates at *Ranter-Bay* for Provisions, they frequently shewed the Wickedness of their Dispositions, by quarrelling and fighting with each other upon the most trifling Occasions. It was their Custom never to go abroad, except armed with Pistols or a

naked Sword in their Hand, to be in Readiness to defend themselves or to attack others.

HANS BURGEN, the *Dane*, was born at *Copenhagen*, and had been brought up a Cooper; but coming to *London*, he entered himself with Capt. *Creed* for *Guinea*; the Ship being taken by the Pyrates, he agreed to go with them, and became a Comerade to King *Plantain*. This *Plantain*'s House was built in as commodious a manner as the Nature of the Place would admit; and for his further State and Recreation, he took a great many Wives and Servants, whom he kept in great Subjection; and after the *English* manner, called them *Moll*, *Kate*, *Sue* or *Pegg*. These Women were dressed in the richest Silks, and some of them had Diamond Necklaces. He frequently came over from his own Territories to *St. Mary*'s Island, and there began to repair several Parts of Capt. *Avery*'s Fortifications.

THE King of *Massaleage* had with him a very beautiful Grand-daughter, said to be the Daughter of an *English* Man, who commanded a *Bristol* Ship, that came there on the Slaving Trade. This Lady was called *Eleonora Brown*, so named by her Father; she had been taught to speak a little *English*; but this is common on the Island of *Madagascar*, it being the chief Rendezvous of the Pyrates, where they victual and refit their Ships. *Plantain* being desirous of having a Lady of *English* Extraction, sent to the King of *Massaleage* (whom the Pyrates called *Long Dick*, or King *Dick*) to demand his Grand-daughter for a Wife. Capt. *England*, with 60 or 70 Men had dispersed themselves about the Island, and inhabited amongst the Negroes: but Capt. *England* being very poor, was obliged to be beholden to several of the white Men for his Subsistence. Several of these People had join'd King *Dick* at *Massaleage*; and persuaded him to refuse *Plantain's* Demand, to put himself in a Posture of Defence, and to prohibit all Correspondence between any of his Subjects and those of *Plantain*. The chief Weapon used by the Natives is the Lance, which they are very dextrous in throwing. But *Plantain* had got some hundreds of Firelocks, which he distributed among his Subjects, and had learned them to exercise in a pretty regular manner. He also had great Store of Powder and Ball, and a

good Magazine provided with all manner of Necessaries. He was a Man of undaunted Courage; which he shewed by venturing down to *Charnock Point*, as mentioned before. Indeed I was surprized to find a Stranger pop on me armed as he was, with two Pistoles stuck in his Sash, tho' but mean in Habit. At that time he asked me, what we did there, and whether we were the Men of War sent out in quest of them. I told him, I did not know who he was; he said, that he had belonged to the *Cassandra*, but had now left off Pyrating, and lived at *Ranter-Bay*. He then gave me the aforementioned Account of his Birth and Parentage; and that if the Commodore thought proper, he would trade with us, and supply the whole Squadron with Cattle, and other Provisions.

BUT to return from this Digression: On *Plantain*'s receiving this Message of Defiance from the King of *Massaleage*, he sent to tell him, that if he did not comply directly, he would bring such an arm'd Force against him, that should drive him out of his Dominions; and if he happened to fall into his Hands, he would certainly send him to Prince *William* of *St. Augustine*'s Bay, who would sell him to the first *English* Ship which put in there. These Menaces made King *Dick* something fearful at first; but being buoy'd up by several of the *Englishmen* that were there, he still refused his Demands, and boldly sent word, that he would not give him the Trouble to come quite to his Home, but that he would certainly meet him half way. This Answer so much inrag'd *Plantain*, that he called his Chief Officers together to consult what he should do; tho', let their Advice be what it would, he always followed his own Inclination. His chief General was a Fellow they called *Molatto Tom*, who pretended to be the Son of Capt. *Avery*; which might probably be true, for the Man was near 40 Years of Age when we were there. This Man being born on the Island of *Madagascar*, and of *English* Blood, *Plantain* put much Confidence in him, and intrusted him to raise Men for his Service; he fetch'd over from *St. Mary*'s Island about a thousand Men, which stood by *Plantain* the best of any, and would not flinch from him.

BUT *Plantain* was like to have been trick'd by King *Kelly* of *Mannagore*, who brought 1000 Men with him, and agreed

for a certain Sum of Money to fight for him, which *Plantain* very willingly imbraced, and treated him as he did the rest of his Brother Kings. But *Kelly* led off his Men, and retreated just before the Battle, being afraid, that should he assist *Plantain*, it might cause perpetual Wars between King *Dick* and him. By this time there were four or five other Kings come to his Assistance, who resenting many Injuries they had received from King *Dick*, were resolved to demolish him if possible : But they found a hard Piece of work of it. For tho' *Plantain*, had great Store of Riches, he could not have a fresh Supply when that was laid out. *Plantain* entertained his Brother Kings in a grand Manner, and he caused a whole Bullock to be roasted for their Entertainment. As to Liquor he let them have but little, tho' they covet it very much, and will drink any manner of spirituous Liquors, till it even takes away their Breath ; when they are drunk, they love to sleep in the Sun. The Natives of *Madagascar* are very deceitful, on which account *Plantain* intrusted very few of them with Fire-Arms. Perhaps he would distribute about 20 or 30 Muskets amongst 1000 Men, which were put only into the Hands of those he could depend upon. They load and discharge their Pieces with great Expedition. I have seen a Negro at *Massaleage* take a Musket all to pieces, and look well into the Lock of it, before he would buy the same.

KING *Dick* being positively resolved to fight, sent to *St. Augustine*'s, to desire Prince *William* to come to his Assistance, promising to serve him on any other Occasion. But he thought proper to join *Plantain*, who put his whole Army in Battle-Array, and those he entrusted with Fire-Arms were intermixed amongst those who had Lances. He had *English* Colours at the head of his part of the Army ; the Party commanded by the *Dane* had *Danish* Colours ; and *Adair* the *Scot* had *St. Andrew*'s Colours. *Plantain* ordered the *Scotsman* should command on the Right, and the *Dane* on the Left ; having intermixed several *Englishmen* amongst the Negroes, to keep them up in their firing, and not to suffer any of them to lie down. The Negro Chiefs take what Money their Men have, and compel them to fight : They seldom want Provisions ; for Potatoes grow wild, and Cattle are

plenty without Proprietors, except that they keep a few Cows for their own milking. When they were on their March from *Ranter-Bay* to *Massaleage*, King *Dick* was as good as his Word, met them half way, and attack'd them; but after a smart Engagement *Plantain* put him to the Rout, took some of the *Englishmen* who had persuaded King *Dick* not to comply with his Demand, and drove the rest quite out of the Field; after which they dispersed, and shifted for themselves as well as they could. As for the *Englishmen* he had taken, he ordered a great Fire to be kept burning all Night, and the hot Coals to be scattered about, and made them run to and fro' bare-footed upon them, and ordered the Negroes to throw Lances at them, till by these Tortures they expired.

AFTER this Success, he resolved to be revenged on King *Kelly*, who had deserted him, and had been join'd by Part of King *Dick*'s scattered Forces. To this end, he put himself on his March with his Forces, and came up with *Kelly*; on which ensued a smart Encounter, which lasted a whole Day, each Party being supported by the *English*, some of whom were on one side, some on the other. *Plantain* maintaining his Ground with great Resolution, the other Party desired a Parley, but was refused, and they continued the Fight till it was so very dark, that they were obliged to give over. They had a great Number of Men kill'd and wounded on both sides, but they kept a very good Guard, resolving to renew the Fight in the Morning; and in the mean time *Plantain* encouraged his Men, by distributing some Brandy among 'em. *Kelly* and King *Dick* seemed resolved to defend themselves to the utmost of their power; but early in the Morning *Plantain*'s Men attack'd them with fresh Vigour, put them to the Rout, and took many of them Prisoners; among whom were *John Darby* of the Town of *Chester*, and *William Mills* of *Gosport*, near *Portsmouth*; who were after tortur'd to Death in a most cruel and inhuman manner. Capt. *England* was now in great Distress, and could not well tell how to live; but coming to Prince *William* of *St. Augustine*'s Bay, he there met with seven or eight of his old Ship-mates, who supported him for some time, and Prince *William* resolving to come down to *Plantain*'s Assistance, they agreed to accompany him.

PLANTAIN, to make the most he could of his Victory, pursued the Enemy over to the Town of *Massaleage*; but found a stronger Resistance there, than he imagin'd; for he could not force the Town, the Enemy firing from Houses, &c. which obliged him to retreat. This so enraged *Plantain*, that he resolved to cut the two Kings of *Massaleage* and *Mannagore* to pieces, or put them to the most cruel Deaths whenever he had them in his Power.

THE *Europeans* who were dispersed about the Island, came soon to hear of these Disturbances; and some of them propos'd to attempt the taking of *Plantain's* Castle; but the Place being guarded by Cannon, and a River very near the Place, the Design was laid aside.

I observed, at the time that the *Salisbury* lay at *St. Mary*'s Island, the first Morning we were there, some hundreds of Canoos go from thence to *Ranter-Bay*; but who they had on board, we could not be sure, tho' some supposed they were full of White Men: But the Account we had of all the White Men there, both *Dutch* and *English*, was not near the Number there seem'd to be. It was more likely that these Canoos conveyed away the Treasure which *Plantain*, *Adair*, and the *Dane* had concealed there, for fear of its being discover'd. At that time they were on the Island of *St. Mary*, it being a Place they frequented for Recreation or Pleasure, about ten or twelve Miles distant from *Ranter-Bay*. The Night we lay there, we were very watchful, keeping our People constantly from the Poop, calling to them on the Forecastle, for fear the Natives in their Canoos should, conducted by the Pyrates, make an Attempt to surprize us. But they were more frighted at the sight of us, than what we imagined, as we were afterwards informed. A Man came on board the *Shoreham* at *St. Augustine*'s Bay, who was a Gun-stock Maker, and had been amongst the Pyrates. The Account he gave of himself was, that he shipp'd himself Armourer of a Ship which sailed from *London*, but belong'd to *Bristol*, on a Voyage to *Madagascar*, in order to procure Slaves. This Man (whose Name was *Thomas Lloyd*, who formerly lived in the Minories,) said he was left with six more of their Men on the Island, and had suffered very much by a petty Prince called King *Caleb*; that had it not

been for Prince *William*, they should have been murder'd. That when the Pyrates were there, that Prince would not let them go out of his House ; for he told them, that the Natives were Rogues, and that he was resolved to preserve them, two of whom, however, soon after died. That these Pyrates live in a most wicked profligate manner, and would often ramble from Place to Place, and sometimes have the Misfortune of meeting some of the Natives, who would put them to lingring Deaths, by tying their Arms to a Tree, and putting lighted Matches between their Fingers ; that they served two of his Ship-Mates in the like manner, and would stand and laugh at them during the time of their Agonies. This I think was a just Retaliation to the Pyrates for the inhuman Barbarities they are guilty of.

THE Natives here are very deceitful, seldom true to their Promises, and no longer your Friends, than you keep feeding them with such Presents as they want. In their way of contracting Friendship with each other, or any Stranger with whom they have a mind to hold a Correspondence, 'tis their Custom to come down to the Sea-side, and drink the Salt-water together, and to swear by the same their faithful Intentions to each other. This they are very sure to keep, if such an Agreement is entered into by any Number of them : For they inflict a very severe Punishment on those who any ways infringe it. *Plantain* had bound most of his Allies under this sacred Oath of Fidelity, which King *Kelly* had also taken.

THE Wars between *Plantain* and these petty Princes were carried on for near two Years ; when *Plantain* having got the better of them, put several of his Enemies to Death in a most barbarous manner. As to King *Kelly*, he escaped *Plantain's* Fury as yet, and fled for *Port Dolphin*, where his Brother was a King ; but *Plantain* sent over to him, and forbid him to harbour him, for if he did, he would certainly destroy his whole Dominions, as he had done those of *Massaleage* and *Mannagore*. But *Kelly's* Brother boldly defy'd him, and sent him back a very resolute Answer, resolving to defend his Brother's Cause. *Kelly* was a bold and undaunted Man, and had on several Occasions shew'd his Courage.

KING *Dick*, and all that belong'd to him, were taken by

Plantain; however the Lady, on whose account these Wars were begun, prov'd to be with Child by one of the *Englishmen* which *Plantain* had murder'd. This so much inrag'd him, that he ordered King *Dick* to be put to the same cruel Death as the *English* and *Dutchmen* had suffered. He now was resolved to march for *Port Dolphin*, as much to replenish his Stores, as to be revenged on King *Kelly*; who, conjointly with the *Dane*, had conceal'd a great Hoard of Jewels and Money at *Port-Dolphin*, in an unfrequented Wood, which he was inform'd of by an Intimate of theirs, who alone they had intrusted with this Secret, and who had deserted to *Plantain*.

WHEN I proceeded from *Chimnah*[1] to *Broderah*,[2] after I had been taken by the *Sangareens*, there came to *Guzurat* two *Dutchmen* and three *Portuguese*; one of the *Portuguese* was named *Anthony de Silvestro*, and had been brought up by Capt. *Westerby* of *Poplar*, talked very good *English*. They all came from *Surat* to take on in the *Moors* Service, as many of the *English* do. This *Anthony* told me, he had been amongst the Pyrates, and that he belong'd to one of the Sloops in *Virginia*, when *Blackbeard*[3] was taken. He informed me, that if it should be my lot ever to go to *York River* or *Maryland*, near an Island called *Mulberry Island*,[4] provided we went on shore at the Watering Place, where the Shipping used most commonly to ride, that there the Pyrates had buried considerable Sums of Money in great Chests, well clamp'd with Iron Plates. As to my part, I never was that way, nor much acquainted with any that ever used those Parts: But I have made Enquiry, and am inform'd there is such a Place as *Mulberry Island*. If any Person, who uses those Parts, should think it worth while to dig a little way at the upper End of a small sandy Cove, where it is convenient to land, he would soon find whether the Information I had was well grounded. Fronting the Landing-place are five Trees, amongst which, he

[1] This place, later called Chimnaw and stated to be about thirty miles from Cambay, has not been identified.

[2] Baroda.

[3] The notorious pirate Edward Teach was so nicknamed. For an account of him see Johnson's *General History of the Pyrates*.

[4] Presumably the small village bearing that name on the banks of James River in the north-west part of Warwick County, Virginia.

said, the Money was hid. I cannot warrant the Truth of this Account; but if I was ever to go there, I would by some means or other satisfy myself, as it could not be a great deal out of my way. If any body should obtain any Benefit by this Account, if it please God they ever come to *England*, 'tis hoped they will remember the Author for his Information.

AFTER *Plantain* had put King *Dick* to death, and those *Dutch* and *English* who had fought against him, he march'd to the King of *Massaleage's* Dominions, and found a great deal of Treasure at King *Dick*'s House, and great Store of such Sort of Grain as the Island produc'd, which *Plantain* order'd to be pack'd up, and sent to *Ranter-Bay*. As to the Inhabitants, he sent great Numbers of them down to *Ranter-Bay*, made Slaves of them, and caused them to form several Plantations of Sugar-Canes, and after brought the same to great Perfection. So soon as he had cleared the Town, he caused his Men to set the same on fire, and then went to King *Kelly's* chief Town, and did the same there. He found but little Subsistance in all these Dominions; for *Kelly* was a subtle, sly Fellow who took care of himself; and so soon as he found that *Plantain* was on the victorious Side, he fled in the Night from his Associates, came to *Mannagora*, secured all he had of any Value there, and then fled to *Port Dolphin* to his Brother, where he sheltered himself for a time, till *Plantain* came again with an Army, and totally demolished both one and the other; for he now tyranniz'd over the Natives all over the Island. After he had burnt King *Kelly*'s Town, he came down to *Ranter-Bay*, bringing the Lady before mention'd with him, which he accounted the chief Trophy of his Victory; who tho' she was with Child, he accepted of, and was much enamoured with her. This Woman having chiefly been brought up under the Care of her Father, who was by all Accounts a very honest Man, and was by him actually left behind at that Place; he had taught her the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the ten Commandments, and gave her an Insight into the Christian Faith; but not having the Conveniency of Books, he could not so fully instruct her as he desired. By this Wife, *Plantain* has had several Children. When he brought her to *Ranter-Bay*, he made a grand Entertainment, and gave her

the whole Government of his Houshold Affairs, discharging several of his other Women. This *Eleanor Brown* would often talk to him concerning Religion, ask him after God; and according to her Father's Directions, say her Prayers Night and Morning: On which account, *Plantain* used to say he had now got a religious Wife; but yet took what she said in good part. He cloath'd her with the richest Jewels and Diamonds he had, and gave her twenty Girl Slaves to wait on her. It was this Woman that Mr. *Christopher Lisle* would have been great with; for which Attempt *Plantain* shot him dead on the Spot. This *Lisle* was the fourth Mate to Capt. *Benson* of the *Dawson East-India Man*; for I was sent on board of them off *Mount Dilley*, where he and the Captain had some very high Disputes, on which the Captain had confin'd him in Irons for a Mutiny; which *Lisle*, together with an Ensign of the Guards design'd for *Bombay*, had bred on board the said Ship. After I had acquainted Capt. *Cockburn* of what Capt. *Benson* alledged against them, the Captain sent me to fetch them on board of us. The Commodore was inform'd of this Affair, and he ordered that Mr. *Christopher Lisle* should walk the Quarter-Deck on board of the *Salisbury* (which was the Ship I then belong'd to) and do the Duty of a Midshipman. When we arrived at *Charnock Point*, Mr. *Lisle* run away from us the second or third time of his going on shore. At his first coming on board Capt. *Cockburn*, (who always had a Regard for what Station a Man had serv'd in) he desired, as he was a Stranger on board, that I would let him mess with me: which I did, with the Captain's Approbation. But soon saw he was not only a quarrelsome Fellow, but one that was malicious, and slothful in performing his Duty. He said he was the Nephew of Capt. *Lisle* of *Stepney*, who formerly commanded the *Berwick* Man of War. I had his Note for Three Pound ten Shillings for Conveniences he had of me; for tho' he was an Officer on board the *Dawson*, he was very bare, and had made away with most of his Effects. The Captain alledged, that he had broke open several Chests of Liquor in the Hold, and had converted it to his own Use; which was afterwards sufficiently prov'd against him. If he has any Friends now living, who have never heard of his End, this

Account will be a Confirmation to them of his fatal Destiny, being killed by the Hand of a pyratical King, as mentioned before. They may find him stand entered for his Majesty's Ship the *Salisbury* in the Month of *February* 1721–2, and run at *Charnock Point* on the Island of *Madagascar* in the *April* following 1722.[1]

NOW *Plantain* had taken a considerable time to recover from his Fatigue, and recruit his Forces, which at last he did, tho' not with the desired Expedition: And after he had made sure of the Treasure he[2] and the *Dane* had concealed, they got all things in readiness, and went over to *St. Mary*'s Island to Capt. *Avery*'s Castle, and took from thence some Materials which they wanted, and being join'd by his Allies, he gave Order for his whole Forces to march for *Port Dolphin*, but they were very much fatigued in their way. Here young Capt. *Avery*, or *Molatto Tom*, as they generally call'd him, was of great Service to him, and kept a regular Discipline amongst the Army. This *Molatto Tom* was one that was so much fear'd amongst them, that at the very sight of him, they would seem to tremble. They often would have made him a King, but he never would take that Title upon him. He was a Man of tall Stature, very clean-limb'd, and of a pleasant Countenance. He had Hair on his Head, and no Wool; which I have often admired at, having seen several of this Mongrel Breed, who have all had Wool on their Heads. He had long black Hair like the *Malabar* or *Bengal Indians*; which made me think he might be the Son of Capt. *Avery*, got on some of the *Indian* Women he took in the *Moors* Ship, which had the Grand *Mogul*'s Daughter on board. This is very probable; for he said he could not remember his Mother, but that he suck'd a black *Madagascar* Woman, which for some Years he took for his Mother, till he was told his Mother died when he was an Infant.

DURING the Season that *Plantain* was at his Castle, the time was spent in great Mirth and Entertainments amongst

[1] This is correct. In the pay book of the *Salisbury* in the Public Record Office (no. 303) Christopher 'Liell' is entered as having come from the *Dawson* as an able seaman on 14 February 1722 and as having deserted at Madagascar on 29 April following.

[2] King Kelly.

the *English* that were there under his Protection. Several new Songs were made in token of his Victories, and at the End of almost every Verse was pronounced, Plantain *King of* Ranter-Bay ; which he seem'd mightily pleas'd with, as well as with Dances perform'd by great Bodies of the Natives. After he had destroy'd King *Dick*, and King *Kelly*, he established two Kings in their stead, leaving them to rebuild and make good what he had demolished. They were also tributary to him, and sent him in every Month, a certain number of Cattle of all sorts that the Places afforded ; and they were to keep the Lands in good order, and to pay him Tribute for all sorts of Grain, Sugar-Canes, &c.

WHEN we were at *Mannagore*, we had the Opportunity of seeing several Entertainments by the Women of that Place, who came down and offered their Service to any that thought proper to accept of them. They gathered every Night one Hundred or more of them together, and formed a sort of hollow Square, where they used to sing and dance in their way. Amongst all these Women, they never have above two or three Men who dance with them and play on the Musick to them. This Island of *Madagascar* is very safe for Travellers, there being no manner of wild Beasts there to annoy them.

WE must return again to our majestick Pyrate. He now put himself on his Journey toward *Port Dolphin*, destroying all in his way that opposed him ; being filled with Revenge against King *Kelly* and his Brother. But the King at *Port Dolphin* had strongly fortified himself, having got up some Guns that the Pyrates had left there, and in a very odd manner mounted them on old Carriages which had no Wheels. But the Natives in *Plantain*'s Army were very much frighted at the sight of the Guns, and he was informed that some of them design'd to betray him, if possible. *Molatto Tom*, or young Capt. *Avery*, immediately seized some of those suspected, and by torturing two or three of them severely, entirely quash'd their Design. *Plantain* was not furnished with Tents and other Utensils fit for carrying on a Siege ; for the Trees were his chief Covering : and he was incumbered with a great deal of Baggage. As to Provisions, they were daily in quest after them, plundering all the Towns and Villages they came

near ;. and if they made the least Opposition, they would fire their Habitations, and leave them to repair them against they came back. In the Heighth of this Siege the *Dane* was kill'd, which very much troubled *Plantain*, for he was near a Year and a half before he compleated his Design, and was forced twice in the time to return to *Ranter-Bay* ; and he was under a Necessity to make what Expedition he could, for there were two or three other Kings who had laid Siege to his Castle, while he was employed at *Port Dolphin* ; but those he had intrusted, proved so true to him, that they maintain'd it till he came. When he was within a Day's March, he met with a strong Opposition, and was forced to fight his way down to the River ; which so soon as they in the Castle observed his Colours moving down to the River, they sent all their Canoos over directly, and mann'd them very well : for he never left the Castle without four or five hundred Men to take care of the Place. The Enemy once had brought a great number of their Canoos in order to make a Bridge there, to have cross'd over ; but they which had possession of the Castle, sallied out amongst them, took several of them, cut off their Heads, and stuck them on high Stakes, for Proofs of their Fidelity to their Master in his Absence, which pleased *Plantain* very well. So soon as he got possession of his Fort, he made the Enemy sheer off ; for he kept a continual Fire amongst them for a whole Day, and the next Morning mann'd all his Canoos, and pursued them to the side of a Wood near his Town, where they shelter'd themselves, and did *Plantain*'s Men a great deal of Damage. This so enrag'd him, that he gave order for his Head General, *Molatto Tom*, to draw off a great Body of People, and to make the best of his way to their chief Towns, declaring he would follow in a small time with the rest of his Forces. On this they march'd with the utmost haste, to save their Towns from Destruction. This was a sort of warlike Stratagem they had never heard of before in this Island.

PLANTAIN was resolved that he would now make himself King of *Madagascar*, and govern there with absolute Power and Authority. He kept now near 1000 Slaves, which he employed constantly on the Fortifications of his Castle ; and had he acted as Capt. *Avery* did, would certainly have made

a very strong Place of his chief Residence; for Capt. *Avery* only took to the Island of *St. Mary*, and seldom or ever troubled the Inhabitants of *Madagascar* for any thing except Supplies of Provision. Capt. *Kidd*, who also was on the Island, and in the *East-Indies* at *Carwar*, and hove down at *Ducky Rock*, (which is to this Day called *Kidd*'s Island) very much annoy'd the Inhabitants, having his whole Body of People with him, who used to go in great Companies and plunder the Inhabitants, which afterwards made them afraid of ever doing any thing to serve the *English*.

WE left *Plantain* in pursuit of his Enemy, that had come to demolish his Castle, and young Capt. *Avery* marching by way of Diversion to attack their chief Towns; one of which he had set on fire, and then returned back to *Plantain*'s Castle, carrying several Men, Women, and Children with him. But Part of this Town was saved by their Forces, who arrived quickly after *Molatto Tom* had retired, and extinguished the Flames. While they were busied in saving what they could of their Town, *Plantain* came down with the other part of his Forces, and made a sad massacre amongst them, took one of their Kings and near 500 Men Prisoners. After this Success, being near *St. Augustine*'s Bay, he was minded to go with Prince *William* to see how all his Acquaintance did in those Parts. He had not been long there before there arrived three Interlopers which belonged to *Bristol*, and wanted Negroes. This suited *Plantain* very well; for he soon disposed of several hundred of his Prisoners, as well as Women and Children, and sent them on board these Ships, which were called the *Renown*, *Princess*, and *Mermaid*, all belonging to *Bristol*, who all got their Freight immediately. They gave *Plantain* several Invitations to come on board, which he refused.

NOW Prince *William* and his Uncle raised fresh Recruits for *Plantain*, who made them fine Presents, and acknowledged their Friendship: They also called him, *The Great King of* Madagascar. These Ships had purchased their Freights at a cheap Rate; what they gave in Exchange, consisted of great Quantities of Beads, a small Number of Fire-Arms, some Powder and Shot; and the Commanders gave *Plantain* two Suits of their fine lac'd Clothes for his own wear; they also let him

have Shoes, Stockings, Hats, and such things as they could most conveniently spare. It pleas'd *Plantain* very much, that these Ships happen'd to come there at this time, for he would have been glad to have disposed of them for any thing, rather than have kept them. They also spared him what Liquor they could, and left several trifling Presents for his Wives. Having their whole Cargoes, they got their Ships with all speed in a sailing Posture, and put to Sea. These Ships brought him the Account of Capt. *Roberts*'s being taken and executed at *Cape-Coast-Castle*, and that most of his Men were hang'd in Chains. This gave a little Shock to *Plantain*, who was in hopes to have seen *Chocolate-Hole* again.

BUT to return from this Digression: The King of *Port Dolphin* and *Kelly* his Brother, had given Directions for most part of their Army to march towards *Port Dolphin*, it being only a few Miles from *St. Augustine*'s Bay to that Port. *Plantain* in the mean time had sent the chiefest part of what he had got in return for his Negroes to his Castle, which being very heavy Commodities, were above a whole Month before they got them to *Ranter-Bay*; it being about four or five hundred Miles from *Port Dolphin* thither, and near the same distance from *St. Augustine*'s Bay. They had a very good Guard, commanded by two *Englishmen*.

PLANTAIN now arrived near *Port Dolphin*, being resolved to make an end of the War that Summer: In his March he destroy'd several Towns belonging to the King of *Port Dolphin*, putting Men, Women and Children to the Sword. This struck such a Terror amongst the Inhabitants of *Port Dolphin*, that they address'd their King to make Peace, and surrender up *Kelly*. But he refused their Advice, and put himself in the best Posture of Defence he could. *Plantain* advanc'd, and laid Siege to the Place. He had seized on two Pieces of Cannon that were left at *St. Augustine*'s Bay, which he had now mounted on Carriages, and employed several Yoke of Oxen to draw them. With these he made such a continual Fire upon the Garrison of *Port Dolphin*, that he soon quash'd their Courage, and in ten Days from their first firing against the Place, it was surrender'd at Discretion. Here he made a sad Piece of Work, exercising great Barbarity upon the Inhabitants: But

it was near a Week before he found either the King or *Kelly*; whom he some time after put to death in a cruel manner.

HAVING subdued *Port Dolphin*, he made Prince *William* Viceroy of that Dominion; and several other Districts he appointed to the petty Princes who had assisted him in his Wars, and who were to be tributary to him. He was now absolute Monarch of the whole Island, and the Inhabitants brought in all manner of Refreshments to him with great Submission. When we were there in the *Salisbury*, the Natives seem'd very subject to him; tho' I think we might at that time have surpriz'd him, and brought him away, which would have prevented the Mischiefs he has since done.

AFTER *Plantain* arriv'd at his Castle, he made several great and splendid Entertainments, to which he invited all the *Dutch*, *French*, and *English* in the Island, amongst the rest was Capt. *England*, who was at that time very weak, and did not live above a Month; and 'twas said his Death was occasion'd by the severe Stings of his Conscience for his wicked Course of Life, and the Injuries he had done to several, by robbing them of their Properties. This is a thing that seldom happens to those sort of Men, who are so hardned in their Impieties, that to outward Appearance they seldom feel any Remorse. He seem'd very penitent some time before his Death, and hoped that God would forgive him his Sins, desiring his Companions to leave off that Course of Life. *Plantain* having called all the *Europeans* together, extended his liberality amongst them. Some of them seem'd to dislike their present abode, and wish'd that they were at some Place or other near the Coast of *India*, where they might separate themselves, for their better getting to *Europe*. They all acknowledged *Plantain* their chief Commander, and called him King. Upon mustering their Men, they missed half the Number they had when they came to settle there; for according to the Account I had from Dr. *William Moore*, they lost near 60 or 70 of the *English* by Sickness, and in the several Engagements before mentioned.

PLANTAIN being now weary of his Kingship, resolved to quit his Territories (with the Advice and Consent of his Comrades) and to leave the Natives in quiet possession of their

Properties; either urg'd to it by the Remorse of his own Conscience, or acting on the Principle of Self-Preservation (which is most likely) as he found his Associates decrease daily, and could not depend on the Fidelity of the Natives, whom he had used in so barbarous a manner. To this End he determined to build a Sloop big enough to carry them and their chief Effects to the Coast of *India*; and provided they found no Refuge in any other place, they would all go to *Angria*, and offer him their Service for some time at least, till Opportunity should suit for their getting to *Europe*. They were a long time in building this Sloop, having but two Carpenters among them; but on this occasion all their Hands endeavoured to aid and assist: and at last they made shift to patch up a Sloop, and get her into the Water. They had Compasses and other Mathematical Instruments, but were at a loss for skilful Persons to make use of them. There was a *Dutchman* among them who had been in *Angria*'s Service before, and was in the *English* Service against *Angria* at *Gerey*. This Man was taken in the *India-man* by Capt. *England*, and after that entered voluntarily with the Pyrates. During the time the Sloop was building, they did not let the Natives know their Intentions, pretending it was only for a Pleasure-boat. They were hard put to it to get Iron-work for fixing the Rudder of their Sloop; but supplied themselves by sending some of their Hands to *St. Mary*'s, where they took a Rudder which belonged to a Vessel that they had sunk, and got off all the Iron-work. They had Cordage sufficient, and carried the Sloop to *St. Mary*'s, where they rigg'd her. Having fix'd her Sails, they got on board all their Treasure, and *Plantain* took his Wife *Nelly* along with him; and then set sail. When they came to *Johanna*, they could not help playing their old Game over again, as we had an Account by a Ship which went a trading Voyage round those Islands. This Ship belong'd to the *Moors* at *Bengal*, and had several *Englishmen* on board, who they would have persuaded to go with them. They plunder'd some of the Inhabitants, made them no Recompence for what they had of them, and took two or three Quills of Cordage out of the *Moors* Man; nay, once they had Thoughts of seizing the Ship, but imagin'd they were not strong enough to work

her. They left *Johanna* in the Month of *June*, in the Heighth of the Monsoons on the Coast of *India*. They after touch'd at a small Island, where they made a Disturbance amongst the Inhabitants, setting fire to their Houses, and leaving the Place mostly in Ashes. When they came on the Coast of *India*, they had like to have been lost on the Island of *Bombay*, but the *Dutchman* took on him to run down to *Gerey* with them ; for the Weather was so bad, that none of our *Bombay* Vessels could venture out to see who they were. They buried nine of their Crew in their Passage, and had not above 21 of them left. When they came to *Gerey*, they surrendered themselves to *Angria*'s chief Commander ; he not being there himself. When they declared on what Account they were come, they were receiv'd very joyfully, and word was sent directly to *Angria*, who was then at *Allabeg*, his chief Place of Residence, whither they were all sent. When *Angria* saw them, he was mightily pleas'd, judging them to be good Sailors, which he much wanted. Some time after, six of them run away to the *Portuguese*, pretending they were cast away on *Angria*'s Coast, and had made their Escape ; and by this means they got to *Bengal*, where [1] I had a large Account of all their Proceedings.

WHEN *Angria* came to understand what course of Life *Plantain* had lived, and what a valiant fighting Men he was, he entertained him in a Magnificent manner. *Angria* has Houses very finely built and furnish'd, which was what *Plantain* had never been accommodated with : So that when he saw the State and Grandeur he lived in, he judg'd there was a great deal of Difference in their way of living on the Coast of *India*, from what there was in the Island of *Madagascar*. Here were stately Houses built with Stone, fine strong fortified Castles, and fine Horses, pleasant Gardens to recreate themselves, pleasant Fruits, good *Persia* Wine, and plenty of Arrack. All these things so transported the Pyrate, that he now thought himself in a sort of Paradise ; and *Angria*, the more to incourage him, sent for all the dancing Girls, and order'd a magnificent Supper to be got for them, and dressed after their own manner. They were entertained with such Grandeur, that *Plantain* was

[1] This seems to be a slip. As mentioned later, Downing encountered these ex-pirates at Ahmadābād.

at a loss how to behave himself, having been so used to a brutish way of living at *Madagascar*: for tho' *Angria* is an Enemy to the *English* Nation, he is a Sovereign in his own Dominions, which are now pretty extensive.

I gave an Account in the preceeding History, by what means *Angria* had gain'd the Friendship of the Grand Sedey, whose Sister *Angria* married,[1] and who gave him the Island of *Kenerey*, in consideration of the good Services he had done in the Sedey's Wars with the Mogul. He also furnish'd him with Vessels, Men and Ammunition; whereby he soon became terrible to the trading Ships, several of which he seized, as Opportunity offered. He had been long settled in *Kenerey*, before his Ambition led him to enlarge his Possession, and sending to his Brother-in-law for Assistance, he went down the Coast as low as *Debull*; there he attack'd the People belonging to *Kemshew*, and took *Gerey*,[2] where the *Portuguese* had formerly built a strong Fortification, and then he begun to take Possession of a large Tract of Land on the Continent; and also increase his Naval Forces, by taking several Ships belonging to the *Moors*, and other trading People. The Grand Sedey seeing his ambitious Spirit, and the Success which Fortune join'd to all his Undertakings, sent him all the Aid he from time to time requir'd. He then extended his Dominions further up into the inland Country, and demolished several Settlements of the *Portuguese*; and proceeding in this Method for some Years, he grew very rich; and having defeated *Kemshew* in several Engagements, he was fearful that he would over-run his whole Country, on which account he agreed to become tributary to him. For a further strengthening this Contract, *Kemshew* offered his Daughter to him for a Wife, which *Angria* accepted, and had for her Portion a large Tract of Land further up in the Country, and a Town called *Purah-Purah*.

[1] No confirmation has been found of this story. Downing's statements in general on Marātha history are of no authority. He was not in a position to obtain good information and merely repeated the gossip of Bombay.

[2] Gheria had been taken by the Marāthas some time before Kānhoji obtained control of Khānderi.

IN a short time after he took one of the *Rodger* of *Carwar*'s Ships, which was come from *Muscat* loaded with Horses. This was a very considerable prize to him ; for being now furnished with some Horses, he resolved to keep up a standing Army, tho' a very small one. He therefore sent the Horses over to *Gerey*, and gave the Charge of them to such Men as he found to be the most experienc'd in the Arts of Horsemanship. He now had a great mind to make himself Master of the Fort of *Golaby*, which was then possess'd by the *Portuguese*,[1] and probably might prove a very difficult Undertaking. But his Ambition led him on to the most arduous Enterprizes ; and having Men sufficient to go and fight for him, left off hazarding his own Person, and generally sent a Commander whom he thought endued with Conduct sufficient to obtain hi Designs. If they chanced by any Misconduct to be defeated, he would put them to death so soon as they returned ; but if they behaved well, he generously rewarded them.

HE now had extended his Dominions near two hundred Miles of Land, very well inhabited, and could raise a very powerful Army among his own Subjects. *Golaby* lies very near to *Kenerey*, and the Island of *Kenerey* is in sight of it. But *Kenerey* being at that time in the Grand Sedey's Possession, he as yet did not think proper to make any attempt on it.[2] He was resolved to possess himself of *Golaby*, and for that end ordered an Army to march and lay Siege to it. The *Portuguese* at this time had lost one of their Grabs, and several Vessels belonging to their Armada coming from *Mangalore* loaded with Rice ; which *Angria*'s Ships had taken : This had struck a kind of Panick amongst them ; and when *Angria*'s *Sabberdaw*,[3] or chief General, appeared with an Army before *Golaby*, they quitted their Possession, and fled to *Correnjar* and *Chowle*, and never once made any Opposition against them. It was said they had not any Ammunition or Provisions to sustain a Siege, which was the Reason of this Conduct.

[1] No evidence has been found that Kolāba was ever in the possession of the Portuguese.

[2] But Downing has just said that Angria was in possession of Khānderi.

[3] *Sûbadâr*, a word which originally meant the officer in charge of a province, then a general or commander of troops, and has now come down to mean a native officer of sepoys.

ANGRIA's General soon sent over to acquaint him, that he had compleated his Order, and that all things were in Readiness for his Reception. On this he quitted the Island of *Kenerey*, which was put under the care of one of his head *Sabberdaws*, giving him order, if ever he was besieged, to send for whatever Assistance he had occasion for, and he should be supplied.

THE *English* all this while seem'd under no Apprehensions from this Increase of *Angria*'s Strength. The Island of *Kenerey* is very small, not above a Mile and a half in Circumference, which one would think not worth looking after; but being on a Rock, which must be allowed the best Place for a Fort, it has proved very detrimental to the *English*, lying just in the Mouth of the Harbour of *Bombay*, so that no Ship, Boat or Vessel can pass or repass without being attack'd by *Angria*'s Grabs, if he sees a Probability of succeeding. Here they always keep great Store of all manner of Provision for the Supply of the Inhabitants of the Island in case of an Attack.

I have in my first part of this History given an Account of the Renegado *Portuguese*, who was entrusted as Admiral of the Galleywats at the Siege of *Allabeg*,[1] and so shamefully betray'd his Trust; and who was sent to *St. Helena* in the *Morrice*, Capt. *Eustace Peacock*, where he left the said Villain in the Hands of the *English* Governor. This Man by his fair Speeches and Behaviour had so far gain'd the good Opinion of Governor *Pyke*, that he made him Overseer of the Company's Negroes or Slaves in that Plantation. This *Portuguese* soon infus'd such Notions into the Heads of these Slaves, that they were near upon rising and cutting off all the Inhabitants in the Night; but by the Providence of God, Capt. *Sclater* [2] was inform'd of this Plot, by one of his own Servants, and prevented the intended Mischief. The Governor then seized this Villain, and confin'd him in a Dungeon, and the Boy also who was with him, where keeping him for some time, till one of the Storeships arriv'd, he sent him to *Bencoolen*, where the Rogue had like to have raised all the *Molwys*,[3] and to have been the Cause of having the whole Settlement cut off. From thence they transported him to *Madrass*, and there he soon obtain'd his

[1] 'Kenery' is intended.

[2] See note on p. 67.

[3] Malays ?

Liberty, and got into the *Mogul's* Dominions. From thence he has since got to his old Master *Angria*, and is now one of his Head Gunners.

BUT to return from this Digression: After *Angria* had got Possession of the Fort of *Golaby*, he set himself up as next Heir to the Grand Sedey, and laid very heavy Taxes on his Subjects, in order to support his Grandure. He also attack'd and took some *European* Ships trading on the Coast, which strengthen'd and elated him very much. The Grand Sedey had been his chief Support, and given him the Island of *Kenerey*; he now wanted that of *Henerey*,[1] and also a Fort which belong'd to the Grand Sedey, called *Allabeg*, which we attack'd as mention'd before. This incroaching Temper the Grand Sedey did not approve of; wherefore he sent to him to know, whether, if he should grant him that Favour, he would not, in time, require other parts of his Dominions; and therefore refused his Request. *Angria* at this Refusal took such disgust, that he resolved to have this place by some Stratagem or other; and having renewed a Correspondence with the *Portuguese*, they supplied him with Powder and Ball, and all manner of Utensils to further his Projects. On which account he confirm'd a Peace with the *Portuguese* for a small time, as suited his own Conveniency: so that after he had stock'd his Magazines with all manner of warlike Stores, he sent to the Sedey to demand *Allabeg*. The Grand Sedey being a very powerful Prince thought at once to crush him, and sent a considerable Army against him; but he had taken care to be well provided for their Reception, and sent to King *Kemshew*, to request his immediate aid. By his help, and a considerable Army of his own, he attack'd and mastered *Allabeg* before the Sedey's Forces could come down to its Relief.[2] In it he was much assisted by the *Portuguese*, and two *Dutch* Ingineers, by whose Direction so quick a Fire was continued, that the Garrison was soon obliged to surrender, and *Angria* took possession of the said Fort the Day before the Sedey's Army appeared in Sight. The Garrison had no Ingineers among them to direct their Cannon, nor had *Angria* any, except a few

[1] Underi, a small island between Khānderi and the mainland.
[2] There appears to be no truth in this story.

Portuguese, and the two *Dutchmen* before mentioned. However, the Grand Sedey was very much inraged, to think that *Angria* should prove so ungrateful, as he was his Relation, and had received several Favours from him, (for he really thought him to be the true-born Son of his own Sister.) The Sedey's Army was ordered to the Island of *Henerey*, which is very low and flat, and near to that part of the Sedey's Country as joins to *Correnjar*,[1] a City inhabited by the *Portuguese*, from whom the Sedey expected Assistance. The *Portuguese*, on the other hand, were willing to get the *Sedees* routed and turn'd out of this Island, which was so near to them. They therefore sent and desired *Angria* to be expeditious in all his Undertakings, and that they were willing to assist him as privately as possible. These Accounts I have had confirm'd to me from the most ancient Men on the Island of *Bombay*.

HAVING but slightly treated of these Matters in the first part of the *Historical Account of the Wars of* Bombay, I shall now give a more particular Relation of *Angria* and his Land-Wars. The Sedey's Forces strengthening the Fortifications on the Island of *Henerey*, seem'd resolv'd to maintain their Possession, and to demolish *Angria* if he should attack them. They sent the useless Inhabitants from the Island, to another part of the Sedey's Dominions, and demolished the Town before *Angria*'s Forces arrived. They put all their Trust in the Strength of the Fort, having near forty Pieces of Cannon mounted ; which had they been managed in a regular Method, would have dispersed the best Army that *Angria* had ; tho' he scarce would entertain any as Officers in his Service either by Land or Sea, but Men of approved Experience. Under the Conduct of these, he put some young Volunteers to learn the Art of War ; and would very generously incourage his Soldiers or Seamen, when they behaved well. After he had taken the Island of *Golaby*, he seldom commanded himself, but intrusted those whom he confided in to conduct his Forces. There were six or eight *Jentew*[2] *Sepoys*, and two Fishermen who came away with him when he left the Island of *Bombay* ; these Men he

[1] The town of Karanja, on the south side of the island of that name (see p. 34). The ruins of the Portuguese fort are still visible.

[2] Hindu.

put much Confidence in, and they having had great Experience, in the *English* Service at *Bombay*, and being Men of Courage, were promoted to be his chief *Annabobs*[1] or Generals. Two of them were intrusted with the chief Command of the Island of *Kenerey*, and *Gerey*, and were very diligent in keeping a most regular Discipline in their several Jurisdictions, for fear of the Inhabitants, who were very much oppressed.

ANGRIA now thought of sending his Army to attack the Island of *Henerey*; this Island has a small River running round it, and falls into *Pen* River on the Back of *Correnjar*, and from thence into the Harbour of *Bombay*.[2] *Angria*'s Galleywats usually lie in this River, from whence they come out and interrupt the *English* Fishery; which has caused many to forsake the Place for fear of coming under his Power. 'Tis very surprising to me, to think how the Inhabitants of the Island of *Bombay* secured themselves from his Attempts before Governor *Boone* came, when they had no manner of Guard for the Island, nor no Protection for the Merchants Trade on the Sea-Coast: In this unguarded Posture we found the said Island at our Arrival.

BUT to return: *Angria* now laid Siege to the Fort of *Henerey*, which the *Sedees* defended near three Months, and lost a great Number of Men; but they were forc'd at last to quit possession and retire.[3] Before they left the Fort, they demolished great part of the Walls, and nailed up most of their Cannon: so that when *Angria*'s Forces took Possession, they could not make much use of the Fort and Town. On which account *Angria* settled his Fishery there, which remains to this Day the chiefest Place of their Residence, almost all the Inhabitants belonging to the Fishery. He there appointed a chief Officer of Justice to keep them in regular Order, and to receive Tribute or Toll for him, by which he had much impoverish'd the Fishermen, who could scarce afford to maintain their Families, tho' they live in those parts at a very cheap Rate.

[1] 'Annabob' is simply *al-Nawāb*, 'the general'.

[2] This is quite wrong. Downing seems to confuse the island with part of the neighbouring mainland (cf. p. 129).

[3] This story of the capture of Underi by Angria is apparently baseless. The island remained in the possession of the Janjīra Sīdi until much later. Downing may, however, be referring to Angria's conquest of the neighbouring district on the mainland.

BUT tho' *Angria* had got such great Possessions on the Continent, yet still he was in want of Grain and Fruits for the Support of his Army ; occasion'd by the Devastations made by the Forces on each side. The Sedey was full of Resentment at the Conduct and Behaviour of *Angria*, but being at War also with the Grand Mogul, and forc'd to support an Army for the Safe-guard of his Capital Towns and Cities, he could not at present chastise him as he design'd. Besides, he was apprehensive that the Mogul, hearing of these Disturbances, might send an Army to join *Angria*, and attack him on all sides at once. The whole Country was all in Confusion ; and the Grand Sedey ordered *Angria* to be declared an Impostor, and not his Sister's Son. But it was now too late, for several great Men had join'd him ; he had also well peopled some Towns, and enlarg'd them, appointing Officers of Justice to act there in his Name, and to demand such Tribute as they should think convenient. *Angria* was once obliged to take off his Taxes for fear of a Rebellion ; but that fear being over, in a short time he laid heavier Loads on them than before. He was at several times attacked by Parties of the Sedey's Army, but generally came off with Conquest.

THE *Rodger* of *Carwar* and *Kemshew* were Brothers, and *Angria* marrying of *Kemshew*'s Daughter, contracted by this means a powerful Alliance with them ; so that during the Wars with the Grand Sedey, he had great Assistance from them, they being powerful Princes. Tho' *Angria* had formerly taken one of the *Rodger* of *Carwar*'s Ships coming from *Muscat*, loaden with Horses, yet the *Rodger* being an Enemy to the Grand Sedey, now either forgot this, or at all Adventures was resolv'd to humble the Sedey, by assisting *Angria*. *Angria* had also great Supplies from a treacherous *Jentew* on the Island of *Bombay*, before spoken of, who used to buy Powder and Arms, on pretence of sending the same to the *Portuguese*, by way of Merchandize, which proved very fatal to the *English*.[1]

[1] The reference is to Rāma Kamāt, who was arraigned by Boone on a charge of warning Kānhoji of the impending attack on Khānderi. There are grounds for thinking that his condemnation, which was obtained by evidence extracted by torture, was unjust. For an account of the trial see the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xxvi, part i, p. 144.

ANGRIA having provoked the Sedey to be his Enemy, seemed not at all uneasy about it; for he now thought the Strength of his Allies, join'd to his own, was sufficient to maintain what Possessions he had acquired. Elated with his constant Success, he seem'd ill to requite the *Portuguese* for the several Services they had done him, at which they were so provoked, that they resolved to hinder his Progress as much as possible. *Angria* perceiving this Coldness in the *Portuguese*, attack'd their Fort at *Correnjar*, and had it not stood on a very advantageous Ground, with a stout Castle built on the Brow of a Hill, which commanded a great Bay on the low Land which he had in Possession, he would very probably have succeeded: But his Army ne'er met with hotter Work, and was soon obliged to retire, and make to the Island of *Henerey* for their Security from the Cannon-shot the *Portuguese* fir'd amongst them. They were also obliged to build a small Battery on that side the Island of *Henerey* which fronted *Correnjar*; for otherwise the *Portuguese* would have demolished his Fishery, and have made a sad Piece of work with him. For tho' *Golaby* was surrender'd to him almost upon his Appearance before it, yet the Grand Sedey was not a little pleased to see the *Portuguese* make him shear off. But tho' he drew off his Forces from before the City of *Correnjar*, he kept open War with them at Sea, and was very troublesome.

ANGRIA had now got several great Enemies against him; the Great *Mogul* and Grand *Sedey*, tho' they were at War with each other frequently, yet were both Enemies to him, as were the *Portuguese* and the *English*. As to the *Dutch*, he never troubled them, tho' they have a Factory at *Dabul*,[1] and their Ships every Year come there for the Produce of Pepper from that Country. What is the Reason of this, I cannot say: Whether the undaunted Courage of those few *Dutchmen* he had in his Service, makes him to dread encountering with them; or whether the *Dutch* make private Presents to him, as their Factory stands on the Borders of his Dominions. 'Tis certain his People take no manner of Pains in the way of Trade with the neighbouring Merchants; which had they pursued after he

[1] No evidence has been found of the existence of a Dutch factory at Dābhol.

enlarged his Conquests, they might in all Probability have acquired greater Riches than at present they possess.

ANGRIA was still resolved to push his Fortune against the Sedey, to which end he caused an Army to march on the Back of the Grand Sedey's Country, into the Mogul's Dominions, and there they raised a very large Sum of Tribute Money due to the Grand Sedey, which enraged the Sedey more and more against him: But the old Sedey dying,[1] *Angria* was resolved to have a Trial for that Empire; which the Generals and Governors of the several Provinces of the Sedey's Dominions opposed, and proclaim'd the deceas'd Sedey's Son Grand Sedey. On this an Army marched to invade the new Sedey, whose Forces attacked his Enemies with great Resolution; but the Victory seemed to incline to *Angria*'s Side, the other Army giving way for near a Mile; at which time *Angria*'s General took great Numbers of them Prisoners; he also took seven or eight of the Sedey's Elephants, which he has at present in his custody: but Night coming on, both Armies retreated to their respective Camps, with a Design to renew the Fight in the Morning.

THESE Trophies of Victory being sent to *Angria*, very much encouraged him to send a further Assistance to his Army; he was in hopes to hear by the next News, that the Sedey was driven to the Mountains, where he has a very fine City on the Top of a Hill. The next Morning both Armies engaged again, and the Fight continued very hot for some Hours; but at last *Angria*'s Army thought proper to retire to their Camp, which was too strong for the *Sedees* to attempt to force. The *Angrians* had some few Horse in their Army, which were taken in the *Arabs* Ship coming to *Bombay*, and designed for the *English* Service; besides, *Angria*'s Father-in-law *Kemshew* assisted him with near 1000 Horsemen; all which, with his Foot-Soldiers, were nothing in number to the Grand Sedey's Army. But the *Dutch* Engineers made such Havock with their Cannon, that the *Sedees* were killed in great numbers. They could direct almost a continual fire from 12 Pieces of Cannon which they had in the Camp, and there was a sufficient number of Oxen

[1] Presumably Downing is referring to the death of Rāja Rām (1700); but his whole account is a travesty of the history of the time.

ready to draw them away from Place to Place, where the Enemy might be most annoyed. These *Dutchmen* were so very expert in all parts of their Service, that *Angria* indulged them as much as possible, and would do nothing without their Approbation, relating to the Artillery ; as they had brought several of his People to be assistant to them in the Discharge of the Cannon ; he would send some of these *Dutchmen* to command his Ships, and they very often brought in Prizes. The inland People were used with Courtesy, for they brought in all manner of Provision for the Support of the Inhabitants on the Sea-coast ; tho' they are not a People that are very luxurious in their way of living ; for they eat no Flesh, nor any thing that ever had Life or Blood in it, except Fish, on which they chiefly feed, with Rice and Milk, and all sorts of Fruits, Roots, and Greens. Of these they would have great Plenty, provided a proper care was taken to cultivate them. When they take any Ships belonging to the *Portuguese* or *English*, they reserve a quantity of the Arrack on board to gratify any *Europeans* that shall enter into their Service. We had thirteen Men run away all at once at *Bombay*, who were going to enter into *Angria*'s Service ; but taking the wrong Road by the way of *Goa*, through the *Portuguese* Dominions, they were stopt, and put into the *Portuguese* Castle at *Correnjar*. Capt. *David Wilkie* being then Commander of the *Victory* Frigate, and I being his second Lieutenant, went with him in quest of them, attended by part of our Ship's Company : We found them at *Correnjar*, where the *Portuguese* Governor would not surrender them ; neither did he entertain Capt. *Wilkie* as he ought to have done. But the Captain and I were entertained at one of their Officer's Houses in a very handsome manner, and had the best Lodging the House afforded : A Place was ordered for the Refreshment of our People, it being in the rainy Season, and the Weather very bad. We only staid there one Night, and the next Day came over to *Bombay* ; not being able to recover our Men out of the Hands of the *Portuguese*. What became of the major part of them, I cannot say, but two of them were *Dutchmen*, who had seduced the others to go with them, and one of them commanded *Angria*'s Grab which Capt. *Lawson* took and brought into *Bombay* ; tho' the *Dutchman* was killed in the

Engagement, or 'tis thought he would sooner have blown up the Ship, than have been taken.

ANGRIA hearing of the taking of this Grab, was very much enraged, and resolved that they should not hold her long. The Command of her was given to Mr. *Lewis*, who was then first Lieutenant of the *Victory*; they refitted her, and called her the *Decoy*; but she was afterwards re-taken, and the *Bombay-Galley* was taken at the same time;[1] which was chiefly owing to the Conduct of those Pyrates who came with *Plantain* from the Island of *Madagascar*: For most of the Mischief that has been done of late Years, has been more owing to them, than to *Angria's* own Subjects.

BUT to return to the Affairs between *Angria* and the *Sedees*: The new Grand Sedey being pretty firmly established in his Dominions, and knowing *Angria* to be very powerful, did not care for continuing the Wars so long as his Father had done, on several accounts: It hindred divers sorts of Trade and Merchandize, that his chief Cities and Towns used to be supported with. And, on the other hand, his Father at the first settling of *Angria* on the Island of *Kenerey*, gave him one of his Daughters in Marriage, which Rite was performed according to the *Jentew* way, and kept with a great deal of Mirth for a long time. Now tho' the Sedey had given his Daughter in Marriage to him, yet that did not keep him from invading and seizing part of his Father-in-law's Dominions. And he also married the Daughter of *Kemshew*, who was ever ready to assist him with his Army; they now carrying a friendly Correspondence with each other. The *Mollwans* were his Allies also, and they and *Kemshew's* People were as troublesome down the Coast, as he himself is off of *Bombay*, tho' we do all we can to prevent the same. 'Tis true they have never attempted to take any of our Shipping as yet, because they have no Vessels of Force sufficient to attack them with Success. But as they see Ships of any Nation standing off

[1] We have already seen (p. 66) that the statement about the capture of the *Bombay* galley was incorrect. She was certainly still in the hands of the English in 1733. The story of the taking of the *Decoy* seems equally unfounded. She was accidentally blown up at Tellicherry on 21 November 1724.

and on shore, they frequently dispatch Boats to *Angria* to give an Account of the same, that he may have his Grabs in Readiness to encounter them so soon as they come higher up the Coast.

ANGRIA being in this manner strong by Sea and Land, the new Grand Sedey, who, as before observ'd, found the Inconveniencies of the War, in the Destruction of his Country, and in the Stop it put to Trade, which was the best Support of his Dominions; offered to enter into a Treaty Offensive and Defensive with *Angria*, by the Advice and Approbation of his chief Men. This was accepted by *Angria*; and to confirm it the more, the Sedey's Daughter was contracted to his Son, tho' both very young. On the Ratification of this Marriage-Contract, there were great Rejoicings, and they kept firing their Guns every Day for near a Week on the Island of *Kenerey*, and at the Fort of *Golaby* and *Gerey*, and the other Fortifications belonging to *Angria*; taking the Salutes from each other in a very regular manner. We soon had the News at *Bombay* of these Rejoicings in *Angria*'s Dominions. Then the Sedey made him very large Presents; and the chief Articles of their Contract was, That *Angria* should not presume to incroach any farther on the Sedey's Dominions, but that all Disputes should be decided in an amicable manner by Commissaries appointed on both sides; and that their Armies should join, and equally share in all Tributes and Plunder taken in the Mogul's Dominions; whom they resolved to attack with all their Forces: Of which War I shall now give the best Account I am able, having been an Eye-witness in a great measure of what I shall now relate.

HISTORY

OF THE

INDIAN WARS,

Betwixt the

GREAT MOGUL,

ANGRIA, &c.

AFTER *Angria* had baffled the Attempts made by the *English* on his fortified Places, he [1] join'd the Sedey's Army, and march'd towards the City of *Surat*, the best Place for foreign Trade in the Mogul's Dominions. Here the Mogul Merchants build and refit all their Ships. This for a considerable time, interrupted all manner of Trade in those Parts; the *Dutch* Caravans coming down from *Guzurat* were obliged to stop, and all the inland Trade lay still. The Mogul's Governor of *Surat*, judging that a Sum of Money might tempt him to raise the Siege, sent to know what Sum he expected, if he should draw off his Forces. He demanded 1200000 of *Rupees*, which he pretended was due as Tribute to the Sedey for that City, which had not paid any for sixteen Years before. The Governor provok'd at his exorbitant Demand, sent him word, that his Master would soon send him those who would pay him the Money in the way he deserved, with their Swords and Targets: in the fighting with which they are very expert. His Army then consisted, as was said, of near 50000 Men, arm'd according to the *Indian* Manner; and he had several Pieces of Cannon

[1] The suggestion that Kānhoji took part in the raids upon Gujarāt appears to be unfounded. The Marāthas were mainly led by Pilāji Gaekwār. The designation of them as 'Angrians' is equally inaccurate.

with him. On this Message from the Governor, they incamp'd near the City; so that the North Gate was shut up, for fear of a Surprize, and the Merchants in the City were in great Consternation.

NOW 'tis a long way from *Surat* to *Dilley*, the Mogul's chief Residence; and a *Pattimar* (or what we call an *Express* here) is near a Month in going from one Place to the other, tho' he travels Day and Night. The Method of their sending an Express is thus: The Messenger is carried on Men's Shoulders from Town to Town, on a Couch, where he lies all along, and sleeps and eats. Fresh Carriers relieve the others every five or six Miles, who are generally station'd in Huts on the Way for that Purpose, and have an annual Allowance to retain them always in Readiness. When the Express arrived at *Dilley*, the Grand Mogul was pleased to order the Great *Annabob*, or Generalissimo, to proceed down to *Surat* with all speed with part of his Army, having always under his Command near 180000 Men, 100 Elephants of War, 70 fine Pieces of Cannon well mounted, and a considerable number of *Europeans* of different Nations, who are generally employed as Engineers, Gunners, &c. in his Ordnance. Part of the Mogul's Army I daily saw, when I took on in the Mogul's Service; and I was Engineer under the *Annabob Rustram Alicon*,[1] General and Prince of the Province of *Brodurah*,[2] who had an Army under his Command of 70000 Men, 40 Pieces of Cannon, and 30 Elephants of War. *Angria* has lately been as great a Plague to the Mogul, as ever he was to the *English*; for since he has united himself to the Grand Sedey, they are as one Family, and assist each other. *Angria*'s Army continued to move nearer to *Surat*, and then began to cannonade the Town; on which the Citizens raised a Contribution of 800000 *Rupees*, which he accepted, and then drew off his Army, and march'd for *Broach*. At *Concas*,[3] which is a small Town in the Way to *Broach*, he demanded 1000 *Rupeas*, which the Inhabitants were obliged to raise in four Hours time, otherwise he threatned to burn their Town about their Ears. I was then in the Town in my way to the City of *Brodurah*,

[1] Rustam Ali Khān. [2] Baroda.
[3] Not identified.

in company with two more *Englishmen*; the Inhabitants beg'd of us to stay in their Houses, and not appear: for if we were discovered, they would take us along with them. In the Evening when the *Sabberdaw* came to demand the Money, attended by about twenty Men, he happened to have a Glimpse of us, and was very inquisitive after us. But the Inhabitants telling them we were three *Persians* that were poor, and had not Bread to eat, and that they supported us out of Charity, they made no farther Enquiry after us. The Inhabitants well knowing how long it would be before the Enemy would probably march further up into the Country, kept us there, and subsisted us with the best the Place afforded, and brought us Bows and Arrows to go out into the inclosed Grounds, and there to shoot at Birds or a Mark, as we thought most proper, to divert ourselves. This was not ill Treatment from Mahometans, and I could give several other Instances of their Goodness and Hospitality, in which some of them far exceed the Christians.

THE Army having got near *Broach*, they encamped on the North-side, in order to make themselves Masters of all the Trade coming down thither. They hearing that the *Dutch* Scaffold,[1] (or Caravan) was on the Road, and the *French* likewise; in the first place seized on part of the *French*, which consisted of about 30 Waggons; but the *Dutch* had near 120 Waggons loaded with the richest Goods belonging to the *Guzurat* Trade, as rich Velvets, Embroidery, and Silks of all sorts, &c. After this they took some of the *Dutch* Caravan; and had they been farther from *Brodurah*, they would have had more.[2] But the *French* Waggons coming first, drawn by eight Oxen, and so many of them, that they extended a long way from the first to the last, the heaviest Loss fell on them, who were least able to sustain it: For the *French* are very poor in this part of *India*, and have hardly any Credit; whereas the *Dutch* are very rich in those Parts. In the *French* Caravan they also took two Ladies, that were coming down to *Surat*

[1] An amusing perversion of *kāfila* (caravan).

[2] A letter from Surat of 9 April 1723 announced that a Dutch caravan had been attacked by Marāthas near Baroda and had lost four carts containing thirteen bales.

to see their Parents, the Wife and Sister of the *French* Consul at *Guzurat*.

THE Mogul's Army being very numerous, had Orders to march and attack the *Sedees* and *Angria*. On which *Rustram Alicon* proceeded towards them, and encamp'd his Army on the Plains of *Brodurah*, where he daily expected to hear of the Enemy. But *Angria*'s Party were more politick; for they being encamp'd with the main Body of their Army on the North-side of the City of *Broach*, while a Party took part of the *French* and *Dutch* Scaffold, or Caravans; this Party rejoin'd the main Body, and brought the News of the Approach of *Rustram Alicon*, and his Army. *Angria*'s Generals did not lay hold of this Opportunity of engaging them; but got the Tribute they demanded from the Governor of *Broach*, and march'd away wide of *Brodurah*, plundering all the Towns and Villages they possibly could. And thinking that the Mogul's Army would be in quest of them, wheresoever they came, if the Inhabitants did not raise the Money demanded, they set fire to the Towns, and frequently put the Inhabitants to Death, suffering neither Man, Woman nor Child to escape. Thus did they ravage the Country, demanding Tribute wherever they came, pretending it was due to the Sedey, who had not made any manner of Demand for several Years before, and the *Moguls* were in hopes would have been quite laid aside.

THE City of *Surat* is pretty well fortified, with strong Walls and Redoubts; they have also the Convenience of a fine navigable River for promoting their Trade: but *Angria* is now grown so bold and insolent, that he ranges all along the Coast, even from *Cape Comeroon* up to *Broach*.

AFTER *Angria*'s Army had returned from *Broach*, and plundered several Towns and Villages, they march'd wide of *Brodurah*, and came into the high Road again for *Guzurat*,[1] and there fell in with a small Party of the *Moguls*, which was sent to guard some of the *Annabob*'s Baggage, and three Coaches in which were his Women: After defeating the Guard, they seiz'd the Baggage, and three Coaches, and were resolved if possible to get into their own Dominions, which they could

[1] Downing always calls Ahmadābād (the capital of Gujarāt) by this name.

not well accomplish in a short time, on account that they were now some hundred Miles in an Enemy's Country, tho' in a manner driving all before them. The News of the Baggage and the Ladies being taken, much enraged *Rustram*, who was a Man of immense Goodness in his way, heroic in War, and of very great Resolution. He never waited for the Grand *Annabob*'s Order to pursue them, but leaving a small part of his Forces to guard the City of *Brodurah*, struck his Tents at Midnight, and march'd with the Gross of his Army in pursuit of the Enemy, taking only four Pieces of the lightest of his Cannon with him. He pursued them with all possible Expedition, and in two or three Days came up with their Rear, and retook part of the *Dutch* Scaffold, and all his Women. That part of the Rear-guard quitted their Booty with Precipitation, and endeavoured to join the Body of their Army, which was then under the Command of *Angria*'s head *Sabberdaw*, and two of the Grand Sedey's Generals, then noted for their Cruelty and Inhumanity. All *India* allows, that the *Mogul's* Subjects are in their way good and experienc'd Soldiers, and Men that will fight very well. This Character they made good on this Occasion; for after they had recover'd most of the Plunder from them, they still pursued 'em Night and Day, allowing but four Hours rest for their Army in the 24, for several Days successively. Several of the Oxen belonging to *Angria*'s Army, fell lame on the Road, by over-driving of them. However, it being late in the Season, and having but little Baggage with them, (a Camel with a small Tent for the *Annabob* to lie down in part of the Night, being all that General had,) after pursuing them near three Weeks, it was thought proper to return back a nearer way, which they did in about ten Days, crossing the Country into their own Dominions. However, it pleased *Rustram* to think that he had obliged them to leave some part of their Plunder behind them, and that he had recovered the Ladies; for amongst them was a young Gentlewoman the Great Mogul had made him a Present of, as a Reward of his Victories over the *Culeys*, and she had with her all the Jewels which the *Mogul* gave her when he sent her to him.

AFTER *Rustram Alicon* had got his own Baggage, and

recovered part of the *Dutch* Scaffold, as soon as he arrived at *Brodurah*, he sent to the *Dutch* Chief to come and take their Goods again; on which the *Dutch* Governor came himself, and made him several rich Presents, which he accepted of very kindly at their hands, and a considerable Party was ordered to march from *Brodurah*, in order to convoy the Remainder of the *Dutch* and *French* Scaffolds down to *Broach*, where they were to embark on board of small Vessels to proceed for *Surat*. After this the *Angrians* came again to *Concas*, with a large Party, and demanded Tribute, which the Inhabitants were forc'd to pay. What surprised me, was, that the great Man and chief General of the Mogul's grand Army should not so much as endeavour to prevent this, and hinder the People from being plunder'd, but remain in his Camp before the City of *Guzurat*; and only send Parties of the Army abroad under different Leaders: There were two Brothers [1] of this *Rustram Alicon*, who were also *Annabobs*, and reckon'd great Warriors; being by the Mogul made Governors of Provinces. The News coming to the Mogul that his Grand *Annabob* [2] had not proceeded any further than *Guzurat* after the *Angrians*, and that he had received the Tribute from the *Culeys*, he sent an Order for him to come to *Dilley*, to give his Reasons for not marching after the Enemy according to Order; and in his Absence, one of *Rustram*'s Brothers was appointed to command the Army in his stead, which lay encamp'd about *Guzurat*.

I and my two Companions were now, in our Travels towards *Dilley*, arrived at *Brodurah*, where we found the Army commanded by *Rustram Alicon* encamp'd. So soon as we came into the City, we went as is customary to the Grand *Surcass*,[3] in order to take up our Lodging; but we had not been long there, before the *Annabob* sent for us to come to him, demanding from whence we came, and whither we were bound. I being the chief Person qualified for giving him an Answer to all Questions that he demanded, told him we were going for

[1] Shujā'at Khān and Ibrāhīm Kūli Khān. They were not governors of provinces, but merely in charge of the *parganas* Pitlād and Baroda.

[2] Presumably Haidar Kūli Khān is intended.

[3] Elsewhere this term appears as 'surcar' and 'scar'. Downing obviously means *sarāi*.

Dilley, and from thence design'd for *Bengal*. He ask'd us, how we proposed to get there? I told him that we were in hopes of joining some Scaffolds which were bound for *Dilley*, and that when we arrived there, we should not fear getting a Passage for *Bengal*, there being great Numbers of Merchants passing and repassing continually. But said he, the † *Zammelock*[1] is now at Variance with the Grand Mogul, and is lying in the high Road near *Dilley*, and impresses all People passing and repassing into his Service. He then asked what Countrymen we were? I told him, *Englishmen*. He then asked, of what part? Are you, said he, *Billotes Addimeys*;[2] that is, Are you *European Englishmen*, or Men born of *English* Parents in these Parts? I told him, we were all *Billotes Addimeys*. This made him the more desirous to proceed in his Discourse, which was in a very inquisitive way, how and in what manner we disciplin'd our People in *Europe*, and how they fought there? We explain'd to him as well as we could, that our Men were all kept in regular Order, and that we never suffered our Soldiers to fight as they did here. He than asked me how they engaged? I told him, that we had large Armies when there was occasion for them, and that they were all drawn up in very close Order, before they attack'd their Enemies. We gave him the best Account we could. He then asked us, if we understood firing of great Guns? We gave him a more particular Description of managing them than what we had done of the other Affairs. He then asked us, if we were not willing to take on in their Service? We told him, that we had never serv'd any other Nation than our own, and that as we were going for *Bengal*, we were in no fear of getting Employment so soon as we arrived there. But, said the *Annabob*, you are too late in the Year, and as I told you before, the *Zammelock* now lies in the high Road for *Dilley*, and takes all Passen-

† *The* Zammelock *is Chief of the Mountaineers, who are very numerous, and live in the manner of the* Tartars, *being often very troublesome to the* Mogul, *tho' properly his Subjects.*

[1] An almost unrecognizable form of Nizām-ul-mulk.

[2] *Wilāyati admi*, i. e. foreign men. The former word has now come to mean English; and, caught by our soldiers during the late war from their Indian comrades, was used by them, under the form of 'Blighty', as a synonym for England.

gers into his Service against my Master the Grand Mogul; therefore, if you think well of taking on in my Service, I will give you 60 *Rupees per* Month, and pay you Monthly. You shall have your Horses to ride on, and have a Tent to shelter you from the Weather, and all other Utensils fitting for the same: I will also deliver to you the Care of all my Artillery, and you shall have the Charge of all the Ammunition belonging to the Camp, with any Number of my Men to assist and attend on you. I will also impower all three of you, if any Accident should happen on the Road or March at any time, that you may impress what People you may have occasion for, to come to your Aid and Assistance. If you want Money to make Satisfaction to any on the Road, I will allow it; and each of you shall have a *Purwas*[1] to keep your Accounts, according to our Custom. He then asked us, if we could write or read? I told him we could do both, after our own manner. Then he desired to see us write, and having Pen, Ink and Paper given us, each of us wrote a Line or two, with which he seem'd to be well pleas'd, and said we wrote very fast, and that what we wrote was very fine; for their Characters are very large. We with abundance of seeming Shyness pretended to be unwilling to accept his proffer'd Kindness, and said we could not enter among them. This made him the more pressing on us, and he told us that our King and their King were good Friends, and that the Mogul was the chief Friend and Protector that the *English* had in *India*. We told him, we were very sensible of that. He then said, you are not going to serve an Enemy, but a Friend; for we want to suppress this *Angria* as much as the *English* do, and are in hopes, that we shall conquer him, and take all his Forts from him, and send his Head to *Dilley* to the Grand Mogul. We smiled at his talking after that manner, and told him *Angria* was very strong, and that now he had intirely reconciled himself to the Grand Sedey, he was more powerful than ever. He said, they had not been troubled with him in their Dominions for some Years before now. However, we at last agreed to enter into his Service, which indeed was very advantageous; and was I there now, I should not very quickly leave it again.

[1] A *parvoe* or *purvo*, i. e. a writer or account-keeper.

SO soon as we accepted the Service, he gave each of us six Pieces of Gold,[1] valued at about thirty Shillings Sterling each Piece, which we took as a Present. Then he compelled us to take twenty *Rupees* a Man on account of our Entry ; which when we had received, we sign'd our Names to a Paper, and he put his Seal to it. He then directly sent for the former *Droger* [2] or Captain of their Artillery, and ordered him to deliver all the Baggage and Ammunition into our Care ; and withal gave each of us a Seal-Ring with his Name engraved on it : And with this we were to sign all Accounts for Expences, and to deliver out to all the *Arabian* Soldiers Powder, as often as their Captains came and made a Demand for it, and produced an Order for what they had. These Accounts were every Month carried in, and in such a regular manner, that he never found fault with our Conduct. He sent for his chief Master of the Horse, and ordered him to take us down to his Stables, which were at the Back of his Palace, there to chuse our Horses, which accordingly we did. They were exceeding fine Horses, of which we had our Choice, except those that the *Annabob* rode himself. His Palace [3] was very magnificent and fine, and the Apartment where he then sat with all his Grandees and chief Council before him, was also exceeding grand, being all laid in Pannels of Looking-glass, set in gilt Work, and every square Corner was set with rich Ruby-stones, in form of a Rose, almost as large as a Half-Crown. He sat under an Arch, most richly beautified with all sorts of curious Work, which made him appear exceeding grand ; and in the Center of this Room, there was a fine Cistern full of clear Water, and a very beautiful Fountain-Pipe, which, by its Force of Play caused several Birds made of Glass to keep constantly in Motion, and artificial Ducks and Geese seem'd diving down, and coming up again, which was very entertaining and pleasant to the Eye. He then ordered us a handsome Tent, which was lin'd with red Calico, having three very good Apartments in it, with a

[1] Apparently gold mohurs. [2] *Dārogha*, a chief officer.

[3] Possibly the building described as follows by Forbes (*Oriental Memoirs*, vol. iii, p. 268) : 'the town is intersected by two spacious streets, dividing it into four equal parts, meeting in the centre at a market place, containing a square pavilion with three bold arches on each side and a flat roof, adorned with seats and fountains.'

Place of Entertainment in the Center, where we could receive a large Number of People, as was required at some time; for all the *Arabian* Captains brought their Accounts in once a Month for the Powder, &c. we deliver'd them.

SO soon as our Affairs were settled, we were conducted by the Head *Droger* to the Camp, where they had pitch'd our Tent, and there he delivered us all the Baggage and Stores, which consisted of near 40 Waggons loaden with such things as were convenient for the Supply of the Camp and Artillery. He also delivered the 40 Pieces of Cannon into our Charge, and three hundred Men belonging to the Artillery, which we were to pay Monthly, and our *Purwas* was to go to the *Annabob*'s Treasurer, there to receive every Man's Money with ours, and to bring it to us; we were to see them paid, and to send our Seals by the *Purwas* to have the Receipt sealed with the Seals that were given us; he having had the Character of all our Names mark'd under his own, which sav'd us a good deal of Trouble. They called us, in their Language *Topeivallers*[1] *Drogers*; that is to say, the Captains of their great Guns. When we came to our Tent, we found every thing in exceeding good Order, being all entirely new. In the middle of the Tent were spread four handsome *Persia* Carpets, and in each Apartment one Carpet of the same, and a very handsome Couch, with two good Quilts, very rich and fine, and two Pillows for each Couch, and every thing else very decent. The *Droger* told us, he had furnish'd our Tent according to the *Annabob*'s Order, and hoped he had done it according to our Minds, and that we should not have any Occasion to find fault with him. We complimented him after their manner, and desir'd him to sit down with us, which accordingly he did; and tho' 'tis against the Religion of the Mahometans to drink strong Liquor, yet he would, as well as a great many more, tipple heartily. We sent a Man to the City to fetch us some Arrack; who brought us near six Quarts in a great Jar for a *Rupee*. We then sent for all the *Arabian* Captains, and they complimented us in a handsome Manner, and wish'd us much Joy. We spent the Night in a great deal of Mirth, and the old *Droger* sent for the Dancers which usually attend the Camp, who entertained us with

[1] *Topwāla*, cannon-workers.

Dancing after their manner. About two in the Morning all the *Annabob*'s Musick came, and began to play before the Tent-door, and to make their Compliments to us; and when they had done, we gave them Money according to the Direction of the *Droger*, and they seem'd well satisfied. Some time after them, came all the *Arabian* Drums, and beat a Point of War in their way, and then some of them danced and played with their Swords and Targets in an entertaining manner, for which we also gave them Money. We never went any where, but were always guarded, which at first we thought might be for fear we might run away. In a day or two, one of our black *Serangs*[1] came to us, and ask'd us if we had no Colours belonging to our Nation; and that as we were preferr'd to such a Post, it would be very much taken Notice of, if we did not speak to the *Annabob* to order our Colours to be set up among the Artillery; for as the former *Droger* had carried his Colours with him, they should be at a loss to find the Artillery out, when they came again to join any other larger Army, as they should in a very short time proceed for *Guzurat*, and join *Henzeb Alicon*[2] the Grand *Annabob*. The *Purwas* also told us, it was what was proper for a Distinction to be known by; therefore, according to their Custom, we dressed ourselves very clean, and took the *Purwas* with us, and ordered him to write to the *Annabob* what he thought proper: for all Requests are laid before their great Men in writing, for them to sign if they approve 'em. Accordingly he ordered a Flag to be placed before the Artillery, to distinguish it from any other Part of the Camp, and three silk Colours to be carried before us wheresoever we went; and the Person that bore the Colours was allowed a Horse to ride on. In this Magnificent manner we were entertained; and two or three days after were ordered on the March, and set forward for *Guzurat*, there to join *Henzeb Alicon*. Now when we came near *Guzurat*, we observ'd this great Camp, which took up a large Extent of Ground: The head Captain of their Artillery was a *Portuguese*, and much in favour with the *Annabob Henzeb*; we pitched our Camp very near to them, and then hoisted our Flags: on sight of which,

[1] A term used chiefly for the head of a lascar crew.

[2] Haidar Kūli Khān

they desired us to give Direction how the Camp-Flags and others should be made. Accordingly we made one after this manner, a large Red-Flag with a white Field in the upper Corner, and *St. George*'s Cross ; and in the Flag three Cannons, which we cut out ; this was very much admired, and in compliment to them, as they all wear scollop'd Borders round their Colours, we put the same round this, which they seem'd much pleas'd with. The three other Colours were Red, White, and Blue Ensigns, which were every Day flying before our Tent-door, and they were much admir'd : For whatever Nations come to serve the *Mogul*, they are allowed to wear their proper Colours, provided that they are in any Place of Distinction or Preferment. We were very careful in our Behaviour, to gain the Applause and Good-will of the chief Officers, of which there are a considerable number fit to be prefer'd on any account ; Men of sober Conduct, and moderate in their way of living. They entertain People of all Nations that are willing to serve them, keep a friendly Correspondence with each other, and are very inquisitive in all Affairs relating to foreign Parts. They have many of the ancient *Mahometan Persians* in their Service, who are a sober civilized People, and capable of giving an exact Description of their Country. I have had them for Hours together in my Tent, and heard from them the Accounts of the Wars of *Persia*, which I have in another Tract given.[1]

WE incamped within a Mile and a half of the City-Gates of *Guzurat*, which is a magnificent City well-peopled, and of very great Trade. Here we went and visited the *French* and *Dutch* Factors, and were very civilly entertained at both. We got Supplies from the *Dutch* of all such Conveniencies as was most suitable for Men in our Station ; and we were very handsomely spoken of by the *Dutch* Gentlemen, when they came to pay the *Annabob* their Compliments, in Acknowledgment for his kind Favours in recovering part of their Scaffolds from the *Angrians*. The *Annabob* entertained them with such Grandure as became Persons of their Distinction ; and in their way they spoke very handsomely of us, telling the *Annabob* that we were Men that deserved Encouragement, and that they

[1] No trace has been found of the publication of any work on this subject by Downing.

believed the Account we had given of ourselves to be true; so that they thought we ought to be entertain'd according to what they had promoted us to. They also took the Opportunity of coming to pay us a Visit, and spent a whole Day with us, and gave us an Account of what Conversation they had concerning us, and that they would advise us often to visit our *Annabob*, and shew him the greatest Respect possible. They likewise told us, if we could contrive any Fireworks, with Rockets, *&c.* that would be very much admir'd, and do us a great Piece of Service. And further to serve us, one of them said that he had a large *English* Book concerning Gunnery, which he would make us a Present of, if we thought it would be of use to us; and when we went to return their Visit, the Gentleman was as good as his Word, in giving us the Book, which prov'd to be Capt. *Sturmey's Magazine*; *or, the whole Art of Gunnery, with Directions for making all manner of Fire-works and Rockets*; *and Instructions for Sea-Gunners, and those in the Land-Service.*[1] This indeed proved very serviceable to us; for here we had the plainest Directions in all Cases; and lying still near six Weeks before this Grand Army began to move, we prepared a fine Fire-work, which was play'd off to the Satisfaction of the *Annabob*, and all the chief Officers of the Army. The Grand Army march'd near a Week before ours, and then we were obliged to march very hard to reach the other Camp, whom we came up with in about three Days, and *Henzeb Alicon* had many Affairs to decide before he could come near to *Dilley*, in making up all the Accounts of the Tribute which he had received from all the *Annabobs* under his Command, and chief *Sabberdaws*, and other great Persons who were often intrusted in those Affairs. We march'd with this great Army, and came to several Towns and Cities belonging to the *Culeys*, which we demolished, and took their brazen Images, and destroyed them, if they did not pay the accustom'd Tribute: But notwithstanding that, our Army would wink at their Idolatry, if they paid a sufficient Tribute to the Mogul. These *Culeys* live in a great measure by robbing, going in great Bodies, and interrupting any Merchants that are

[1] This was *The Mariner's Magazine*, by Samuel Sturmy, published in 1669. The British Museum has also a third edition (1683–4).

passing and repassing with their Caravans, and are almost as great Interrupters of Trade, as even *Angria* himself. This very much hampers the Mogul's Dominions ; for there is no travelling amongst these Places without a great and powerful Guard ; for they will come in the Night, and steal every thing they can lay their Hands on. Some of their Heads are cut off almost every Week, and put up on the City-Gates ; for they are shewn no manner of Favour, when they are taken in any numbers.

THE Grand Mogul was now in a sad Condition, the *Zammelocks*, (a Malecontent part of his own Subjects) striving to dethrone him, the *Culeys* always at War with him, and the Grand Sedey and *Angria* coming to make Demands on his Subjects, and imposing very much on them, not suffering their Trade to pass and repass without being interrupted. For *Angria* now bearing the chief Sway in all respects, they constantly kept great Parties passing and repassing in the Country, which put almost a total Stop to their Trade, and kept all the Crops back. *Henzeb Alicon* was apprehensive that he should be disgraced at his Return to *Dilley*, for what he had done contrary to the Mogul's Order ; which was the reason he avoided going thither, tho' the Mogul sent for him to come with all Expedition. He therefore artfully finished the Accounts of several great Officers, had received the Tribute they had collected ; and obliged them to make up all their Monthly Accounts for the Expence of the Army, in order to lay them before the Mogul. Furnished with those Accounts, and laden with a vast Quantity of Tribute Money, he resolved to venture to *Dilley*, guarded by a strong Party of his best Soldiers ; leaving the Command of the Army to *Rustram*, during his Absence. When he came to *Dilley*, and presented his Accounts to the Mogul, and gave his Reasons for not marching with his own Army against *Angria*, the Mogul approving of his Conduct in all things, confer'd greater Posts of Honour on him, and at the same time ordered him to return, and march his Army against the *Zammelocks*, who grew very powerful, but had lately drawn off his Army from the high Road to *Dilley*, an dnever once offered to stop *Henzeb Alicon*, or any that belong'd to him. But this was thought to be done as a Compliment to *Henzeb*, in hopes that he would not have

come into the Mogul's Measures. But the *Zammelock*'s Policy fail'd him here.

WE march'd no further than *Angerah* [1] with our *Annabob*, but were by the Mogul's Orders ordered back; for we were a long time on the March, and sometimes lay a Week or a Fortnight in one Place; during which time, the *Purwas* were daily employed in making up their Accounts, and carrying them in to the chief Secretary, and they delivering the same to the *Annabob*, who would examine them very strictly, and demand an Account of things remaining in store, and how long the Stores might probably last.

THE Mogul had received fresh Complaints from *Surat* of the *Angrians* returning and plundering the Country. He had prefer'd some of his white Men to be great Officers, and had seated them on Elephants in order for their giving Direction for the cannonading several Towns or Villages belonging to the neighbouring Princes, which frightned the Inhabitants out of the same, leaving their Granaries full of all sorts of Grain or Rice, and Horse-meat, with great Store of Cattle, *&c.* all which they would send down to their own Dominions, with a strong Guard. At this time we had great Offers from the head *Droger* of *Henzeb Alicon* to leave our first Place of Service, and to come and serve his Master: He offered us the same Wages, and ten *Rupees* a Month more, provided we would leave *Rustram*, and that we should have as good Horses as were allowed us at present. We were in the mind several times to have gone, as there was in *Henzeb*'s Service near 100 Christians, about twenty of them *English*, and some of them very sober sedate Men, who lived very regular Lives, and whose Conversation might be diverting to us, during the time we were with the Camp. Our Marches were now very hard every Day, and the time of the Heats coming on, which dry up many of the Springs, we were drove to great Straits for Water for the Army, and obliged some Days to march near twelve Miles before we could incamp so as to get Water for the Soldiers, and the Cattle, which in an Army of 50 or 60000 Men are not a few; and almost as many more Women and Children that followed the Camp, with all sorts of Merchandize.

[1] Possibly Anjha, about fifty miles north of Ahmadābād.

NOW the two Brothers *Susurah Alicon* [1] and *Rustram Alicon* were ordered to join their Armies together, and march in quest of the *Angrians.* After a March of several Days we came in sight of them, and prepared to engage. This we did early in the Morning, when the *Angrians* made a fierce Attack on us, and press'd very hard to gain an advantageous Ground on our left ; but our Men defended themselves so well, that they could not force them ; and our Cannon being under Cover, that they could not discern them, we having the preceeding Night threw up Breast-works, surpriz'd them on a sudden, and made a great Slaughter among their left Wing, and put their whole Army in confusion. On this they retired in great Disorder, and we pursued, making a great Slaughter, and taking many Prisoners, till we were weary of killing and pursuing ; and then encamp'd on the Field of Battle till next Morning. Our Generals resolved to improve the present lucky Opportunity, and pursued them again the next Morning, but could only just get a sight of part of them, they retreating with the utmost Precipitation towards their own Dominions. We then burned several of their Towns, and put both Men, Women, and Children to the Sword, the *Annabobs* riding amongst the Soldiers to see that they were not dilatory, but expeditious in cutting off all that were of human Race. These inhuman Proceedings I no ways approv'd of, for I imagined it would have been far more generous to have given them Quarter. Here our *Annabobs* much commended our good Behaviour, and acknowledged the great Service we had done them, and made us several valuable Presents.

WE now had drove the *Angrians* into their own Dominions, and done them more Damage than we could have promised ourselves. Yet they rallied their scatter'd Forces in a Few Days, and came and incamp'd within a few Miles of us ; being, as we were inform'd, reinforc'd by a large Number of Forces, who had been some time on the March to join them. While we lay thus, the *Angrians* would come in the Night and steal the very Horses out of our Camp, and go off with them undiscovered ; for they were as great Thieves as the *Culeys,* but of more Courage, and ready to undertake any Enterprize however

[1] Shujā'at Khān. The *j* was pronounced as *z*.

hazardous. Nay, one of them came one Night and entered our *Annabob*'s Tent, in the dead of the Night when the Guards were a slumbering, and stole the *Annabob*'s Gold Pipe he smoak'd his Tobacco in.

NOW lying so near each other, we had five Deserters which came from *Angria*, three *English*, one *Dutch*, and one *Portuguese* ; they had been Companions with *Plantain* on the Island of *Madagascar*. These Men made us very uneasy at their first coming ; for we did not dare say what they were, for fear of having a private Mischief done us ; so they came to us the next Day, and would not own that they came from *Angria* at that time, but from *Surat*, in order to take on in the Mogul's Service. Amongst these was one *John Davis*, a Fellow that professed a great deal of Joy for his Escape from them, and related to us all their Proceedings, and gave us the Account of *Plantain*'s conquering the Island of *Madagascar*, and of his leaving it in the manner before related. However, our *Annabob* would not entertain them without our Approbation, and said he did not look on them to be Men deserving of the Wages which we had, neither did we think proper to let them know what our Pay was ; so that they were in a short time willing to accept of any thing, till they had shew'd their Behaviour. They agreed with us for 30 *Rupees per* Month, and by the *Annabob* were told that they were to obey all Orders they should receive from us, and to be diligent, otherwise he would discharge them out of the Service. We were not afraid of their not behaving well in the time of Action, but that they would prove treacherous, and not discharge their Pieces with the Expedition they were capable of. The *Annabob* gave them a very decent Tent, fitted with all proper Necessaries. When we found that the Men were sincere, and that they were sorry for what they had done, and glad to embrace this Opportunity of getting away from *Angria*, having fully resolved never to lead such a Life again, we assisted them to the utmost of our power. They were with us near four Months ; and before they left us, they came in a handsome manner to acquaint us, that they had a mind to proceed for *Dilley*, and from thence to *Bengal*. They did not come empty handed ; for they brought Bag and Baggage with them. They were well furnish'd with

good things which they carried along with them, we having no Authority to call them to any account. I heard afterwards, that *Davis* would never come down to *Colcuty* [1] or *Fort William*, nor to any Place where the *English* had any Settlement; but fix'd himself among the *Portuguese*, with whom he continues to this Day, if alive, for he there married a Woman of good Fortune and Beauty. The *Dutchman* and the *Portuguese* did the same, and left off fighting by Land or by Sea. This *Davis* gave me the aforesaid Account concerning the Behaviour of *Plantain*, and of the Death of Mr. *Christopher Lisle*, whom *Plantain* killed before we had been gone a Week. He told me further, that if *Plantain* had not tyrannized so much over the Inhabitants, they should never have quitted the Island; but that as they grew sickly, and were but few in Number; and so well knew the Temper of the Natives, that they would soon have rose on them, they thought it most prudent to get away. I then asked him, how they came to have the Notion of going into *Angria*'s Service, and whether *Angria* put much Confidence in *Plantain*? He said, he did, and that he was intrusted in almost all the Affairs belonging to the Grabs and Galley-wats. I then asked him, how it came that he and the rest of them were sent out with the Land-Army? He said, that they enquired amongst them who was willing to go; there was no Body forc'd, and they were offered an equal Share of the Plunder. I asked him, what Wages *Angria* gave them? He said, the Wages they were allowed were scarce sufficient to procure them Necessaries; but when they took a Prize of any sort, or brought in any Tribute, three Quarters was divided amongst the whole Army, according to what Post and Degree they were in: But even the common sort of them shar'd very well; for that he did not do by them as some of our *English* Commanders do, to run away with what the meaner sort of People should have: For he must be a very great Man that has three Shares to himself, and none but the Head *Sabberdaw* was allowed four Shares. I then asked him, in what Method he received them when they came first on shore? He said, the *Dutchman*, that they took out of the *Indiaman* in the *Surat* Merchants Service, was the chief Cause of their coming to

[1] Calcutta.

Angria, and that they were receiv'd at first by the *Sabberdaw* in a very surly manner, who brought down a Body-Guard with him to the Water-side, who presented their Pieces to their Breasts ; on which *Plantain* was so presumptuous as to pull out his Pistol and present it at the *Sabberdaw*, telling him that he and his Companions came to serve their Master : And the *Dutchman* speaking the *Kenereys* Language, they soon came to understand one another. That the *Sabberdaw* then took them up to the Guard-House, and there secured them all Night, till he had an Answer from *Angria* concerning them ; who sent word that he would not have any of them ill treated ; for if they were come to serve him, they were welcome ; and ordered them to be brought up to him, by whom they were magnificently entertain'd.

DAVIS further inform'd me, that there still remained with *Angria*, four *Dutchmen*, three *English*, and two *Portuguese*, who were very daring and resolute Fellows ; one of the *English* and a *Portuguese* had resolved to have come with them, but over-sleeping themselves, after they had waited as long as possible for them, and finding they did not come to the Place appointed, they came away without them. Having a Pocket Compass, and a dark Lanthorn with them, by that means they came clear off without any manner of Suspicion, the Night being so dark that they could not perceive a Star in the Sky. When they came near our Out-Guards, the *Portuguese* speaking the *Moors* Language very well, called out to the Centinels on Duty, who alarm'd the Guard, and they came and surrender'd themselves in a submissive manner. Our *Annabob* was not very inquisitive after them, for he was indifferent whether they had took on in the Service or no.

BUT to return : The Armies having lain some time in sight, we got all things in order to engage, and early in the Morning we begun to make our Cannons roar, and having some Coehorns, we sent a few of our Hand-Grenadoes amongst them, which they did not like. This we continued for some time, till each Party advanc'd Sword in Hand, and there ensued a smart Engagement : At first the *Angrians* seem'd to gain Ground, and put part of our Troops into Disorder ; but our *Annabob* putting himself at the Head of some of his best

Arabian Foot, repelled them with a great Slaughter. On this, we perceived them in the utmost Confusion retreating, which we suffered them to do, our Men being thoroughly fatigued by the Heat of the Sun, and the length of the Action.

THE *Angrians* continued retreating out of the Mogul's Dominions, and the Season coming on for the Army to go into Winter-Quarters, we were ordered to march for *Guzurat*, to refresh and recruit. When we arrived there, having had some Words between ourselves, Mr. *John Lyon* quitted the Mogul's Service, and was coming down for *Brodurah*, just as the *Dutch* Scaffolds were setting out for *Broach* again. They then were well guarded, for fear of lighting into the Enemies Hands. So soon as they were near setting forward, *Angria*'s People well judging the Times and Seasons of the Year for these Ships to take in their Cargoes at *Surat*, they sent part of their Army with a Design to intercept them. Mr. *Lyon* was then just arrived at *Brodurah*, in order to proceed for *Surat*, and join'd company with the Gentleman that had the Care of the *Dutch* Scaffold, and a *Dutch* Factor. These Gentlemen imbraced the Opportunity of his Company, being obliged at that time to return back, and lie near three Months at *Brodurah*, before they could venture down with their Goods. These Hardships on the Merchants deaden'd the Trade so much, that the Citizens were in a poor Condition, and applied to the chief *Annabobs* to dispatch *Pattimars* with all Expedition to the Mogul, to desire stronger Parties of Soldiers might be employed between the Cities of *Broach*, *Surat*, and *Guzurat*; for the Enemy had boldly come up to *Hugely Scar*,[1] where they had done great Damage, and plundered some of the Inhabitants, rifled the Mufti's House, took away all the Treasure they could find, and brought away his Wives. They likewise burnt all the Mosques belonging to the Town, and pull'd down all the Tombs which were erected over those *Annabobs* who had formerly been buried there with all the Honours due to them for their good Behaviour in routing the Sedey's Army. It was now Winter; and notwithstanding the Rains were very violent, *Angria*'s Army kept the Field; and as Weather would offer, they frequently made Inroads far into the Country; the Mogul's Army never

[1] Identified later as Nariād.

offering to stir from their Quarters, till the Rains were near over. So soon as the Rainy Season was past, fresh Recruits were sent from the Sedey, and Detachments from *Angria*'s Forces at *Golaby*; with which Reinforcement they resolved to push on the War against the Mogul. Between *Brodurah* and *Concas* is a very large *Surcar* and *Chockey-House*,[1] which is in the Nature of our Turnpikes; where all Carriages are lodg'd, and People in Coaches, on Horseback, or with Camels, pay a Toll, according to the Difference of their Carriage. This *Surcar* is a place surrounded with a four square Wall, and a strong pair of Gates in the Front; in the inside there are built Piazzas and small Rooms above and below, with Galleries all round for the Conveniency of going to the Chambers. These Places are built on the Road at the Mogul's Expence, for the Benefit of travelling Merchants. In the Square in the Inside there are Accommodations for about a hundred and fifty Waggons, and the Cattle belonging to them; which may be stow'd and fodder'd under the Piazzas. The Merchants keep their Goods in these Places in very small Rooms: And here they supply Travellers with all sorts of Grain, and Provisions for themselves, which is very convenient on all Accounts. This *Surcar* between *Brodurah* and *Concas*, the *Angrians* invested with a strong Party; having a Suspicion that part of the *Dutch* Scaffold or Caravan was lodged in the Inside of it; they were therefore resolved to beat it down, if possible; to which purpose they brought their Cannon to play upon the Walls. But they being very small, made no great Impression on them; it being the Method in those Parts to make their Walls very thick. After they had continued their Fire for some time with very little effect, they brought their Cannon before the Gates, and kept a perpetual fire; but if they had fir'd the Gates down, they could not possibly have succeeded; for they had filled the Gateway up with great Stones, which they generally kept in one Corner of the Place for that purpose. In the mean time, the Garrison from the Tops of the Walls kept a smart fire on them with their Matchlock Pieces, and shot continually with their Bows and Arrows, and killed and wounded a considerable

[1] *Chauki*, a police or customs station. Under the form of 'chokey' the word has passed into English slang as a synonym for 'prison'.

Number of their Men: Insomuch that they were at last forced to leave the Place, and retire to a greater Distance. But as this Place lay in the high Road belonging to the Mogul they were resolved to continue near it, and to stop all manner of Commerce from Town to Town. Most of the Country Towns and Villages, which managed the Farming Business, and all sorts of Husbandry, did all they could to get their Corn, and all other sorts of Grain into the Cities, where they also retired themselves. There is a People in these Parts call'd *Fuchees*,[1] who forsake all worldly Riches, and voluntarily embrace Poverty. These People often attempt dangerous Enterprizes, in great respect to their Prophet *Mahomet*, rather than they will suffer their Country to be overrun by those whom they despise as the worst of Animals; at the time of the Bairam, they gathered a great Number together, and were resolved to go as Volunteers to do their utmost to drive the *Angrians* out of their Country, and accordingly march'd to reinforce the Army quartered at and near *Guzurat*.

NOW the time of the *Bairam*[2] being over, the Mogul sent down a new head *Annabob*, called *Shohomet*,[3] and with him a large Army, both Horse and Foot, which he kept at his own Expence, the more to ease his Subjects. This General was but a Dwarf of a Man to look at, and yet had Terror in his Countenance. He was a Man of great Conduct, and was sent down as Prince of the Province of *Guzurat*, which belong'd by Seniority to *Susurah*, *Rustram Alicon*'s eldest Brother; so that they both took great Disgust at it, and would not join their Armies with his; but resolved with all their Forces to march after the *Culeys*, being well assured that they could encrease their Store, and raise great Tribute by following them. They quickly drew off all their Forces, and went to the Northward with their Army; and coming on the Borders of *Carmenia*[4]

[1] Fakīrs.

[2] The great Bairam festival fell in 1723 at the end of August, according to the current English reckoning.

[3] [Shāh ?] Hāmid Khān. As explained in the introduction, he had been appointed, not by the Emperor, but by the Nizām-ul-Mulk; and his arrival is here much postdated.

[4] Called 'Carmenay' on a later page. It is not clear what place is intended.

we had there several Skirmishes with the *Culeys*, and demolished several of their Towns and Villages.

IN the mean time *Shohomet* pursued the *Angrians*, but not being acquainted with those Parts, soon got himself almost in the midst of his Enemies, who had near surrounded him. This General had 30 Pieces of Cannon with his Army, but had very indifferent Engineers to direct them. The *Angrians* came so furiously on them Sword in Hand, that 'twas with Difficulty they stood their first Onset. The *Angrians* repeated the Attack with such Vigour; that after a Dispute of three Hours, the *Moguls* were forced to retreat, their General being wounded; which they did in some Confusion, leaving all their Baggage behind them. For while the Armies were engaged, a Party fell upon some part of their Baggage, and took the *Annabob*'s Women. These Ladies were accounted the most beautiful of all those Parts, being Natives of *Dilley*, where the Inhabitants are fair, and the Women noted for fine Features. These Ladies were sent to *Gerey*, and secured in a strong Castle; *Angria* often visiting of them. As *Angria* is a *Cofferey Negro*, there is nothing more Aversion to the *Moguls* than a *Cofferey*, that is not a *Mahometan*; for they have divers *Arabian Cofferey*s in their Service, whom they have prefer'd to great Posts of Honour, and look on them to be the bravest Men in their Army.

THE *Annabob* dispatch'd Messengers to acquaint the Governor of *Surat*, and the chief Men there with his Misfortune, desiring Reinforcements and a Supply of Provisions immediately; and they dispatched with all speed what Forces they then had: and there being at *Surat* some *Dutchmen* who had been employed in the *Moors* Service for many Years as Engineers; these Men were sent with some Pieces of Cannon, and a Party of near 1000 Men to join their retreating Army; and also a Supply of Provisions, for their immediate Refreshment. The *Angrians* on Advice of the Approach of this Reinforcement advancing, thought proper to quit the Pursuit; and the *Annabob* march'd to *Surat*, where he had time to bemoan his ill Fortune, and the Loss of his Lady, and to take care for the Cure of his Wounds.

PATTIMARS were directly dispatch'd to *Rustram Alicon*,

and his Brother, who were obliged to come to the Assistance of the wounded General, by express Orders from the Mogul. We march'd across the Country, having always Men with us thoroughly acquainted with all the ways. We had a great deal of Fatigue in getting our Cannon over the Rivers, which is generally done by the Assistance of great flat-bottom'd Boats; but the Horse frequently ford over, the Rivers being very shallow. The Elephants always carry the Powder across Rivers, and all other Utensils that must not be wet. In this Hurry of marching, we did the Country a great deal of Damage in some parts, where they had great Crops on the Ground, in a very promising way. But the Inhabitants seem'd to make slight of it, knowing we were after their Enemies, and that we were endeavouring to suppress them. Our *Annabob* and his Brother did not think proper to call at *Surat*, but march'd towards the Dominions of the Sedey, and pitch'd their Camp in sight of the Enemy. We kept the Musick playing all Night long, but placed a good Guard in all proper Places. A Party of Horse patroll'd all Night round the Artillery, which was disposed in the most commodious Situation. The Men that had deserted from *Angria* having at *Guzurat* left the Service, and gone for *Dilley*, there were but three of us now to direct the firing of the Cannon. After we had lain thus in sight of each [other] for two days, on the third we were ordered to attack the Enemy about eleven in the Morning; which we did accordingly. Their head *Sabberdaw* and our *Annabob Rustram*, encountered each other on Elephants, and both behaved very gallantly: But Fortune favouring *Rustram*, by a lucky Stroke with his Sabre he cut off his Enemy's Head. The *Angrians* at this, were so much inraged, that they fell on with fresh Fury, and in a manner run into the very Mouth of our Guns; so that we were obliged to do the best we could, and keep a continual Fire with Partridge-shot, which did terrible Execution among them. They once brought two small Cannons to play amongst our Troops, which we soon obliged to discontinue their Fire. The Ways from *Allabeg* and *Gerey* leading across the Mountains are so bad, that it is almost impossible for any Wheel-Carriage, if they are of any great Weight, to get along. After a Dispute of several Hours, the *Angrians* retreated, with the Loss of

many of their Men : and tho' they got into their own Dominions, the Inhabitants quitted their Towns and fled to the Mountains. We pursued them farther, and got great Store of Cattle, part of which had been the Plunder of the *Mogul* Inhabitants. We seiz'd on some of their Magazines of Corn, and supplied ourselves with plenty of all things.

OUR Generals having given the Army some little Rest for a few days, called off the Parties they had sent out to raise Tribute, and resolved to return into the Mogul's Territories. We destroyed several of their Temples, and took away their Images, some of which were cast in Silver, and some in Brass. There was one Temple which had in it a great Brass Image in the habit of a *Jentew* Woman, which was well done, holding a sort of a Book in one Hand, on which were ingrav'd *Jentew* Characters, and round her stood ,seven Children all cast in Silver. In her other Hand she had a large Snake by the Neck, part of which was twisted round her Body. I was very curious to know whom she represented,[1] and what she had done to merit their Worship. There was at the Door of the Temple a large Pot of Red Paint, and another of Yellow, where they every Morning at their coming to worship, are painted by the *Bramin* or Priest with this yellow Paint, and then a red Spot put on their Fore-head. This Place was supported on four Pillars of Marble, and had a fine Cupola beautifully adorned with divers sorts of Images ; yet without regard to its Beauty, we blew it up by order of our General.

NOT far from this, we came to a very large Place of Worship standing on four Stone Pillars, with a grand Cupola over the same, where there was the Effigies of a Man cast in Brass, holding in each Hand a Lyon by the Throat, resembling the Sign of the *London* 'Prentice.[2] We took down the Image, and

[1] Mr. V. P. Vaidya thinks that Ardhanārīsvara (a deity representing both Shiva and Durga) is meant.

[2] I am indebted to Mr. C. W. F. Goss, F.S.A., for an explanation of this allusion. A ballad popular in the seventeenth century narrated the adventures in Turkey of a brave London apprentice. Having slain a Turkish prince, he was condemned to be eaten by two lions ; but when the beasts ran at him, he thrust his arms into their throats and tore out their hearts. (This seems to reflect the old story of the manner in which Richard I gained his title of Cœur-de-Lion.) There is still a public-

all the Brass-work, and then set our Elephants to demolish the Fabrick; which they soon did. This done, we proceeded to the Camp, and our *Annabob* ordered us with the Artillery to march toward *Broach* with all possible speed, and not to pitch till we came up with the rest of the Army, which we soon did. The next Morning early we were on the March, and in few Hours got to the River-side, where we incamp'd for near a Week, and sent all our sick and wounded People down to *Broach*. The Country was soon made acquainted with the News of our *Anabob*'s having cut off *Angria*'s chief *Sabberdaw*'s Head, and that their Army, and most of the Inhabitants of the Country, had fled to the Mountains for Shelter, where we could not pretend to follow them.

WHEN *Angria* heard that his head *Sabberdaw* was killed, and his Army routed, he sent to the *Sedey*, to the *Rodger* of *Carwar*, and to *Kemshew*, desiring immediate Succours; and resolved to have an Army in the Field that should not easily be conquered. He also sent to the *Rodger* of *Mangalore* for Aid, but he refused to send him any, on account that the *Moors* were of great Service to him against the *Malabars*, and great Traders with his Subjects; likewise they had a Fort which commanded all the Harbour. This Refusal so enraged *Angria*, that he sent to *Kemshew*, desiring him to send an Army against the *Rodger* of *Mangalore*. But his Dominions being pretty large, the People of a warlike Disposition, and an Army of 20000 Men ready to oppose any Invader; *Kemshew* thought proper to excuse himself from this Undertaking. He sent to acquaint *Angria*, that he had so far weakened his Forces in supplying of him, that he could not raise an Army strong enough to encounter the *Rodger*.

AFTER we had refreshed our Army for some time, we march'd away for *Brodurah*, where our *Annabob* resolved to spend a Month or two at ease. So soon as we came there, he

house in Old Street, Hoxton, named the 'London Prentice'. The present building is modern, and has no sign; but its ancient predecessor displayed 'a large and flaming sign of the London apprentice, with his arms thrust up to the elbows into the mouths of two angry looking lions'. (*Tavern Anecdotes*, 1875.) Mr. Vaidya suggests that the image was one of Kāla-Bhairava and his dogs (not lions).

dispatch'd a *Pattimar* to *Dilley* with the Head of the *Sabberdaw* pack'd up in an earthen Vessel, to be there set up on a high Spear in the Front of the City-Gates. This Conquest was so acceptable to the *Mogul*, that he complimented him in a Letter writ with his own Hand, and advanc'd him to the Title of a Prince of the Province of *Broach*, as well as that of *Brodurah*.

THESE uncommon Favours from the *Mogul*, did very much inflame the Ambition of our *Annabob*, who was resolv'd to be diligent in opposing the *Angrians* to the utmost of his Power. In the mean time *Susurah*, was a little displeased to think, that the Mogul should so far promote his Brother, and take no notice of him, who had been in several Engagements, and always applauded. *Shohomet*'s Army still lay encamp'd round *Surat*, and most of their sick and wounded, being recovered, had left the Town, and took to their Tents in the Camp. *Shohomet* was also recovered of his Wounds, and made great Preparations to invade the Sedey's Dominions : On the other hand, *Angria* was raising a powerful Army in the Sedey's Territory, as well as his own. He sent word to the Camp of the Grand *Annabob*, desiring the favour of him to wait at *Surat*, till he sent some of his best Men to conduct him out of the Country, and that he would soon be with him, and did not fear having some of the Mogul's Generals Heads on his Castle-walls before two Months end ; and hoped to make himself Master of the City of *Surat* before the Season was over. This put the Governor of *Surat* into some Apprehension, and he ordered several large Pieces of Cannon to be placed on the City Walls, and to have the Guards strongly reinforc'd, and officer'd with Men of the best Conduct. At this time they offered any Money for *Englishmen* who should take on in their Service, and there being a great many Mates of Ships and others at *Surat*, who were out of Business, the Merchants not caring to send any Vessels down the Coast for fear of *Angria*'s Grabs, the *English* Consul sent to acquaint the Governor of the City of *Surat*, that he should not want for any Assistance he could afford him ; and the *Dutch* did the same.

WITH the new-raised Forces and Recruits, *Angria*'s Army was said to consist of near 50000 Men, Horse and Foot, with forty Elephants of War. On these Elephants he had placed

several small Swivel Guns, which proved of great Service to him, and we had several of our Elephants that had the same. Upon Advice of his being upon the March, our *Annabob* and his brother was ordered to join the other Army, and to assist each other as much as possible. On which account we march'd from *Broach* in order to join the other Armies, and pitch'd our Camp on the North-side of the River of *Surat*. When the Armies were join'd, the *Annabobs* did not much care to march too far from the City, but kept within four or five Miles of it, where they began to throw up strong Breast-works before their Camp, and to make strong Redoubts to prevent their being surprized by the Enemy. The Governor of *Surat* sent out several Pieces of Cannon to the Camp, and one great Mortar-piece which had never been used all the time the *Moors* had had it. The Enemy's Army now advanc'd within sight of us, and began to intrench themselves so near, that our Mortar-piece threw several Shells among them during the Night. This gall'd them so much, that they were in continual Motion, endeavouring to shift from the Places where our Shells lighted. 'Twas a *Dutch* Engineer, belonging to the *Dutch* Factory, who had the Direction of this Mortar. The first Night it did them considerable Damage, and killed three of their Elephants on the Spot, and wounded three more, whereby they were render'd uncapable of doing them any Service. In the mean time we were very busy in discharging our Cannon both Day and Night, and made use of our Coehorns for throwing great Numbers of Granadoes among their advanc'd Parties, which gall'd them very much. They also kept a strong Fire on us, and made several Motions as if they design'd to attack our Intrenchments ; but did not dare to undertake it. By keeping a perpetual fire with our Mortar for some nights successively, it split, and killed and wounded several of our Men on the Spot. When the Enemy observ'd this, and the Damage which the Mogul sustain'd by this Accident, they resolved the next Day to make an Attempt to force our Camp. To this end they attack'd the left Wing of the Army commanded by *Susurah* our *Annabob*'s Brother, who bravely defended himself, and after an Engagement of three hours, the Enemy not being able to penetrate the Lines, retired. At this Attack an *Englishman*

in our Service was killed, it being the second Day of his coming into the Service, accompanied with two others. On which account our *Annabob* ordered 500 *Rupees* to be divided among us, in Acknowledgment of his good Behaviour, and sent him to *Surat*, to be buried in the *English* Burying-Ground, which was done with great Decency.

OUR Ammunition began to grow very scarce, as we had kept almost a continual fire on the *Angrians* for some time; and our *Annabobs* were expecting a fresh Supply from *Guzurat*, where the Magazines were generally well stor'd. For this reason we slacken'd our fire; but the Enemy could not readily judge the meaning of it. About this time there happened a smart Skirmish between the *Fuchees* in our Army, and part of the Enemy. The *Fuchees* having Notice that there were three Pieces of Cannon placed on the right of the Enemy's advanc'd Guard, march'd privately in the Night with a design to bring them off. They first seiz'd the Centinels, and then the Cannon; they likewise got about 40 head of their Cattle, and were driving them off. Upon this, the Camp being alarm'd, a large Number of the Enemy attack'd them, and several were kill'd and wounded on both sides. But however, they brought off the Cannon and Cattle into our Camp. These Cannon the *Fuchees* always kept with them as Trophies of their Success. The *Annabob*, to encourage them, made a great Entertainment for them, and gave a large Sum of Money among them.

THREE days after, the *Angrians* put themselves in motion with a design to force our Entrenchments. To this end, a large Body of Foot, supported by some Horse, advanc'd towards us. Whereupon we drew up our Forces in order to oppose them; and a Party of our Men, on seeing one of their *Sabberdaws* on an Elephant near our Lines, advanc'd forward, dismounted him, and brought him Prisoner into the Camp. This *Sabberdaw* being brought to the Grand *Annabob*, he order'd his Head to be struck off, and set up on the Walls of *Surat*, where his own Party might take a View of it. This highly incens'd the *Sabberdaw* that succeeded him, who resolved to be revenged, if possible.

TWO or three days before this, we had received a fresh

Supply of Ammunition from *Guzurat*, which happened very luckily; for the Enemy attack'd our Camp with such Fury, early in the Morning, that both Armies were entirely engag'd. Our Lines were forc'd in several Places, and *Susurah* the Brother of *Rustram Alicon* was taken, and sent the next Day with a strong Guard to the *Sedey's* Fort. Notwithstanding this, our Men still behaved with great Courage; but our Generals having placed several Mines in different Parts of the Camp, ordered our Men to retreat to a proper distance, and the *Angrians* pursuing, the Mines were sprung, and blew up great Numbers of them, with three of their Elephants. This caused such a Consternation among them, that they retired from our Lines in the utmost Confusion, our Men pursuing in their Turn, but so much fatigued with the hard Service of the Day, that our Generals ordered them to return to our Camp. Near 900 Men, beside Horses and Elephants, were supposed to be destroyed by our Mines: but what the whole Loss amounted to, I cannot be particular in. After they had tortured *Susurah* in a barbarous manner, they struck off his Head, and fix'd it on a Pole, on the Fort-Wall belonging to the Sedey, by way of Retaliation for what was done to their *Sabberdaw*.[1]

THE continual Disturbances in these Countries brought on a great Scarcity of all sorts of Grain; we were obliged to send to distant parts of the Country for Supplies for the Camp, the Soldiers being in great Want, and not able to perform their Duties for want of Sustenance. At this time Rice, which is commonly sold for a Half-penny a Pound, was sold for Four-pence, and other Provisions proportionably dear. The common People were obliged to eat Yams, which they generally in this Country fatten their Horses with, and the *Portuguese* fatten their Hogs. The Army suffered very much for Want; as to the City, it had been customary to keep great Stores in Ware-houses, to support the Inhabitants in time of Scarcity; so that notwithstanding the Army was in great want, they would only now and then send out a little for their Subsistance. This caused a great Resentment among the

[1] Shujā'at Khān did not meet his death in the way here narrated. He was slain in November 1724 while fighting against Hāmid Khān, who was aided by the Marāthas.

Soldiers; who said, as they came there to defend the City, they ought to do by them as by themselves, otherwise they would throw down their Arms and return to the Places of their Nativity, and there die with their Families, which would be more eligible, than to fight for those who with-held from them the common Necessaries of Life. There are no Laws here to punish Mutiny or Desertion; but if a Man does not care to serve any longer, he is at his liberty to leave the Service, and to do as he thinks proper. If a Party of Soldiers in the Mogul's Service are at any time short of Money on their March to any part of the Country, they are allowed to go to any of the responsible Inhabitants of any Village, and there to take what is due to them at that time for their Service. And in case they require more, they sign Notes of Hand for the Money they receive, which the Merchants or Brokers send directly to the next *Devan*,[1] *Catwall*, or other Magistrate belonging to the Mogul, who takes care to forward the same to the regular *Annabob* to whom these Soldiers properly belong, who deducts the same from their Pay. The Money is paid at sight of the Note, and look'd on there as firm as any Notes we negociate in *England*. They are also allowed great Liberties in all other respects, paying no Taxes whatever. Many of the Mogul's Soldiers are Men of Estates, and out of Ambition go Volunteers, finding all their own Materials for the Service of the Campaign; and if they fall in Battle, their Estates go to the next Heir, and the Mogul sends his proper Officers to see all things decided with Equity and Justice. If a Man be indebted to divers Persons, and is worth Money, but refuses Payment, they never do there as here, make a Seizure of his Person, but appeal to the head Magistrate of the District, who sends the *Catwall*'s Officers, and they take Possession of his Effects: Then they send for all his Creditors, and sell for ready Money so much of his Goods or Chattels as his whole Debts amount to, if he has no ready Money in the House; if he has, they will allow his Goods to stand, and take the Money and pay every Creditor so far as is his just Due. But if a Person imposes on the Publick so three times, then they seize him, and cut off his right Ear, to distinguish

[1] *Diwān.* 'Catwall' is *Kotwāl* (head of police).

him as a common Cheat; after which, he is seldom or never trusted in the way of dealing.

WHEN I was at *Guzurat*, there happened a very strange Accident to a young Merchant: The Case was this. A young *Mahometan Persian* came with his Uncle from *Persia* to be educated in mercantile Affairs. When they came to *Guzurat*, the young Gentleman took a great House, and a number of Servants; telling his Uncle he liked the Place so much, that he would fix his Residence there; wherefore he desired him to deliver all the Effects which his Father had given into his Custody, and the next Year when his Uncle came, he would let him see the Improvements he should make. The Uncle approving his Kinsman's Proposal, readily agreed to his Request; and sent a Letter to his Father, who lived at *Ispahan* in *Persia*, and was looked on as the most considerable Dealer in that Part of the Empire, giving him an Account of this. The Uncle made what Returns he thought proper on his own Effects, being the most the Market afforded, and bought up other Merchandize, which he carried to *Persia* with the first Caravan. The Kinsman resolved to sell his Goods by Retail, they fetching double that way, to what they do in the other. He went to all the Coffee-houses, and publick Places, and published himself a Retailer of the richest Goods of *Persia*. The News of this soon came to the Mufti, who had two beautiful Daughters: These Ladies hearing of the great Choice this young Merchant had, they took an Opportunity to come in their Coach, being closely veil'd, and under the care of two Eunuchs. They were conducted into a magnificent Parlour, where they according to Custom seated themselves on a Carpet. The young Man being diligent in his way, laid before these Ladies so great a Variety of all sorts of Silks, that they could not tell well where to make their Choice. Sir, said one of them, you have glutted our sight with so much Variety, that we are at a Stand, and do not know how to make any Choice either to please ourselves, or for your Benefit. Lady, said he, let a little time fix your Fancy, according to your Inclinations; and as you have seen great Choice, take some other Opportunity to come and please yourselves. In the mean time, please to let me present each of you with a

rich Piece of Silk of my Fancy, which if you return again, and do not approve of it, I will not require any thing of you. The Ladies were something surprized at his generous Offer, and accepted his Courtesy with many Compliments ; and before they took their Leave, refreshed themselves with some Rose-water, according to Custom. During the time of their Stay, they were very merry, and would often throw up their Veils. This Discovery of the Ladies Beauty so enflam'd the Heart of our young Merchant, that he began to be enamour'd with it, and to make Enquiries who they belong'd to. His Servant told him, that they were the Grand Mufti's Daughters, and the only two he had, being very fond of them ; and that they were Virgins, that as yet had never been pledged to any one. This caused the young Merchant to be still more in love ; and the time they were absent, tho' but a few Days, made him very uneasy till he saw them again. Now both these Sisters were equally enamour'd with this young Merchant, and soon became jealous of one another ; which was a Passion, before their Knowledge of him, they never were acquainted with. But they still carried on a sisterly Correspondence with each other as usual ; tho' the one was a little more crafty than the other, but were so much alike in Person, that when they were separate they could scarce be distinguished, but by their Names. In a short time they returned to our young Merchant's, and brought Money with them to pay for what he had chose for them ; which they insisted on. They soon fell into a familiar Conversation, when the Merchant requested them to partake of a small Collation of Sweetmeats, and to refresh themselves with a Glass or two of the *Ispahan* Water. They readily agreed to this kind Offer, and then they pulled off their Veils ; which discovered so much Beauty, that he was almost astonish'd at the Sight. The Gaiety of the one, and the Gravity of the other, which seem'd to make the other's Mirth the more agreeable, soon passed the time away till it was late at Night. The eldest took all Opportunities to remark the Behaviour of the Merchant and her Sister, and seem'd confirm'd in her Opinion, that she had gain'd a Conquest over him ; on which she resolved to get her out of the way. They took leave, and returned to their Father, in all

Appearance very good Friends. But the next Day the elder Sister took an Opportunity of infusing Poison into some Sherbet, which her Sister drank, and died suddenly. The Mufti was much concerned for the Loss of his Daughter, and the Sister pretended great Grief for the same. However, she was soon buried, according to the Ceremony observed at the Funeral of noble Virgins in those Parts, after a magnificent manner. They kept the time of their Mourning for forty Days, and then the Lady came abroad. The Merchant living at a distance from them, did not hear of this tragical Story for some time.

WHEN the time of the Mourning was expired, the surviving Lady came to the Merchant in her usual Gaiety, affecting all the Deceas'd's Actions ; and, as was said before, they were so much alike that none could distinguish them, but by their Names. She bought several valuable Things that she fancied, and was well delighted in the Merchant's Company ; who could not forbear expressing his Passion to her. This was much to her Satisfaction, this Lady being now the only Daughter, and her Father very ancient. Upon an Invitation from the Merchant, she condescended one Night to come to Supper with him ; for tho' unmarried Women have Eunuchs to attend them, if they are not confirmed to any Man, they have the Liberty of disposing of themselves as they please. As she had promis'd to give the Merchant her Company, she dressed herself in her richest Attire, and during the time of their amorous Discourse, she gave him a very rich Pearl Necklace off her Neck, and desired him to preserve it for her Sake ; which he promised : and in return, accordingly made her a rich Present. The Merchant having now sold off most part of his Goods, and got a vast deal of ready Money in the House ; his Servants, who knew this well enough, and who had for some time defrauded him, resolved to murder him, and seize his Effects. This they effected soon after the Lady was gone, by strangling him in his Bed ; they then pack'd up all his Treasure, and made off with every thing, except the great Pearl Necklace, which was set in Gold. They buried the Merchant in the Court-Yard, under the pavement ; and with him the Pearl Necklace, being afraid to keep it, lest it should make a Discovery.

THE Lady coming some time after, and finding the House shut up, made enquiry after the young Merchant. The Neighbours said, that they saw all his Effects carried off such a Morning, and that his Servants went the Night before and paid the Rent of the House by his Order, as they pretended; so that he did not go away in private: they gave out, that their Master had order'd his Merchandize to be carry'd to *Cambay*, where he design'd to sell the remainder, as he supposed *Guzurat* to be now well supply'd with his sort of Goods. But that he would return thither in a short time again. The Lady was much inraged, to think that she should thus lose the only Man she had ever yet placed her Affections on; and to find that he should so far deceive her, by making promises to her of fidelity: but however, she consoled herself with the Thought that he was only gone for a short time, and wou'd soon return again.

WITH this Hope she comforted herself for a long time; but finding him not to return, she fell into great Agonies of Grief, which occasion'd a dangerous Fit of Sickness; insomuch that her Father feared she would die. This happened some Years before I knew *Guzurat*, but what follows occur'd whilst I was on the Spot.

THERE happen'd to come down from *Cambay* a great Corn-Factor, who wanted a House, and chanc'd to take that of this Merchant, which had stood empty ever since he was murder'd. The Corn-Factor was a young Man, very much in Esteem among the Merchants; and one Day a large quantity of Corn being shot in the Yard, the Men in turning it about to Air, some how with the edge of their Shovels turned up the Stone that the young Merchant was buried under. Upon this they call'd their Master, who spying part of the Pearl Necklace, took it up; and afterwards seeing the Bones of a human Body, he called the People of the Neighbourhood in, but conceal'd the Necklace. Great enquiry was immediately made all over the City concerning this Affair; it being naturally supposed that these were the Bones of some Person who had been murder'd, and clandestinely buried. But by the Appearance it must have lain there so long, that there seemed little hope of discovering the Murderers. Notices were

fixed at all the City-Gates, and great Rewards offered for any that would make a Discovery.

THE murder'd Merchant's Uncle had used to come for several Years from *Persia*, to trade at *Guzurat* ; but had now remained a long while in *Persia*, and was grown very rich : but not having heard from his Nephew for some Years, was resolved to quit *Persia*, and settle at *Guzurat*. On his Arrival there, he was informed that he had moved all his Effects from thence to *Cambay* ; since which, he could hear no Account of him. This gave him great Uneasiness ; and he sent to *Cambay* to inquire after him ; but hearing no News of him there, he sent to several other chief Cities of Trade in the Mogul's Dominions ; but all to no purpose.

THE Uncle being a Man of Reputation was soon made one of the *Catwalls* or Justices of the City ; and hearing the Report which was given out by the Corn-Factor, he went with some Officers to the House to examine into the Affair ; they perceived the Place where a Body had been buried for many Years, but there was nothing remaining except the bare Bones. They could not therefore be positive that it was the Skeleton of the young Merchant, but only imagin'd it to be the same. The old Mufti was still living, and his Daughter, who had grievously mourned for the Absence of her Lover, and had been terribly tormented with the Thoughts of having poison'd her Sister ; by which means she was almost worn away to a Shadow.

THE Landlord of the House being sent for, declared that the Merchant's Servants paid him his Rent the Night before they said their Master was going to *Cambay* ; and that he had no manner of Mistrust of any foul Play from the Servants. That indeed some of the Neighbours design'd to have took their Leave of him ; but they were told that he set out with several other Merchants at Break of Day ; and left orders for his Effects to follow him immediately : The Servants having all things in readiness and the Camels loaded, went out of the City very boldly, and none had any mistrust.

THE Corn-Factor resolved to make the most of the Necklace ; for which purpose he put it in his Pocket one Morning after the Noise was a little over, and brought it to a wealthy

Broker that dealt in Jewels, *&c.* and asked him if he would buy those Pearls set in Gold. He no sooner saw them, but he judged that they were not his own; however, he asked him what he would have for them; the Corn-Factor put a very low price upon them, that did not amount to a quarter of the Value: the Broker judging by this that the Necklace was stole, and the Corn-Factor being a Stranger to him, he desired him to sit down a little, and he would consider of the Price. In the mean time, he sent for some Officers, who came in and carried him before the *Catwall.* The Broker told him, that this young Man had shewed him a rich Pearl Necklace, which he offer'd to dispose of; but that he was sure it must be stole, for he did not ask a quarter the Value of it. The Corn-Factor hearing what was said to the *Catwall*, was so far confounded, that he could not tell what to say; and knowing how he came by it, was afraid to own that he found it near the Body of the supposed murder'd Person, because that might give a Suspicion of his being one of the Murderers. He was now in so much Confusion, that he was not able to answer any Questions the Justice asked him; but seemed to equivocate to and fro in a scandalous manner. This confirm'd the Justice and all present, in an Opinion that he was actually guilty of Murder and Robbery; on which the *Catwall* order'd his right Hand to be cut off. The Pain, Shame and Confusion that he was now brought into, caused him to be like one distracted; but so soon as the Execution was performed, he was set at Liberty, and the Broker delivered the Pearl Necklace to the *Catwall*, who hung it up in his Office, for People to see if they could give any Account of it.

AS they were turning the young Corn-Factor about his Business, the old Mufti came to the *Catwall*'s Office, and seeing a croud of People about the place, demanded the Reason, and what was the Cause of the same. Being seated by the *Catwall*, he told him the whole Story, and shew'd him the Necklace, which he knew to be his Daughter's. He therefore sent for her to come forthwith; and in the mean time they stopt the Corn-Factor again, and passing a fresh Examination, the Mufti's Daughter affirmed the Necklace to be hers, by comparing its Agreement with her other Jewels; she also related

the whole Circumstances of the Affair between her and the young Merchant, before the *Catwall* and her Father. They now blamed the Corn-Factor for not having the Courage to tell the Truth before, which might have been a means to have prevented the severe Sentence which had been executed on him. The *Catwall* was satisfied now, that the murder'd Person was his Kinsman, according to the Account which the Mufti's Daughter gave of the matter ; tho' she did not confess at that time that she had poison'd her Sister, but the Eunuchs knew the whole Affair. The Mufti took the young Corn-Factor home to his House, and express'd a great concern for his Misfortune ; and, to make him some amends, order'd a Broker to sell off all his Effects, that he might settle and live with him, and the more to comfort him in his Melancholy, gave him his Daughter in Marriage. But she, tore with Remorse of having poison'd her Sister, and the tragical Exit of her first Lover adding more Sorrow, expired in two or three Weeks after ; confessing her Inhumanity to her Sister.

BUT to return : The Scarcity of Provisions still continued in the Camp ; but the Citizens being apprehensive that the Army wou'd disperse, as they threaten'd, and leave them to be pillaged by the *Angrians*, sent them all the Supply they possibly could ; but the Armies continued a considerable time without Action. The Mogul now sent to *Gogo*, and ordered the chief Prince and *Annabob* of that Province to raise a considerable number of Men, to send down to *Surat*. These *Gogo* Men are looked on as the most couragious in the Mogul's Empire, and are never made use of but on great Occasions ; they are Men of a very large Size, have a daring and bold Look, and had rather die Sword in Hand, than give back one foot of Ground : They raised 10000 of them, and sent them over to *Broach* in order to recruit our disheartén'd *Forces*. The *Angrians* were as sick of the Lay as the *Moors*, and wou'd willingly have enter'd on a Truce for some time, but did not care to make the first Offer ; for they resolved to insist on the tributary Dues which had been for many Years paid to the *Gonims*,[1] or what we call the *Sedees*.

[1] Grose, at p. 116 of his *Voyage to the East Indies* (1757), explains that the name 'Marattas' is only used in their own country; elsewhere

SINCE the Alliance between *Angria* and the young Sedey, the Country has been continually harassed. I have seen several *Englishmen*, who have been in the East parts since my Arrival in *England*, and took on in the Mogul's Service, and some of them in the same Station as I was: But very few care to continue long with them. Captain *Hocking* continued the longest with them of any I ever heard of, except those who go to *Dilley*, and enter into the Mogul's Service as his Body Guard, in which Corps he has a great number of *Europeans*, who live very easy, and only mount Guard the Days the Mogul goes out on Pleasure, or to the Mosques to Prayers.

THE *Dutch* Merchants, during the Siege of *Broach*, were of great Service to the Mogul's Party; assisting them very much by directing them where to keep their strongest and most compleat Men during the time of Action. This was of great use in preserving the City, which with the Cannon kept so continual a Fire on them, that they could not return their Fire so fast as they intended: several of the Cannon on the City-Walls were dismounted; but many more of the Besiegers, who by the help of the Pyrates before mentioned, soon remounted their Guns again. Let us now return to *Surat*.

THE City of *Surat* is noted for the great resort of all Nations, *English*, *Dutch*, *French*, *Portuguese*, &c. who carry on a great Trade and Commerce there. The *Portuguese* have a fine Church here, and several Clergymen who officiate in it. They are much respected by the *Moors* in *Surat*, tho' not among the Inland Inhabitants. The *English* and *French* have each a Factory here; but the *Dutch* Factory is out of the City.[1] In all Disputes the *Portuguese* and *French* usually apply to the

'they are more currently known by the appellation of Ghenims', which 'imports as much as free-booter, and is bestowed not only on the Marattas but all those mountaineer tribes of the Gentoos who commonly make a war rather of pillage or plunder than a regular one for glory or conquest'. Hamilton (*New Account*, vol. i, p. 146) does not include Marāthas among the 'Gennims', who, he says, were composed of 'Warrels [Varlis], Coulies [Kolis], Rasspouts [Rajputs], Patanners [Pathāns], and Gracias [Grassias]'. The word is the Arabic *ghanīm*, 'a plunderer', but is often used in the general sense of 'an enemy'.

[1] This suggests that the removal of the Dutch from their factory near the castle to a position on the riverside just within the outer walls took place earlier than is usually stated.

English for their Arbitration. So that the Christians for their own safety could not avoid being concern'd in the sustaining the Siege; for if *Angria* had taken the City, he wou'd probably have made a Massacre among the Inhabitants; there being supposed half as many Christians in *Surat* as there are *Moors*, it being a Place of free Trade granted from the *Mogul*. They have few Taxes to pay, and the Rents are very easy; a Man may have a pretty good House in any Part of that City for four Rupees *per* Month, which is but bare six Pound a Year. The *English* have a Factory there, and pay the Mogul a Duty on all their Goods; there is also a Custom-House, where all Duties are paid. The City is govern'd with great Equity and Justice, abounding with Plenty of all Sorts of Fruits, Roots and Grain. The *French* and *Portuguese* have each a Church here, supported at the Expence of the King of *France* and King of *Portugal*, and a considerable number of Clergy for making Converts, and preaching the Gospel of *Christ* in the *Mogul's* Dominions. The *English* have few Clergymen here, nor in any other Parts of *India*, excepting *Bombay*, *Madrass*, and *Bengal*, where they have one or two Clergyman for each City.

SURAT is the chief Place of Trade the *Mogul* is possess'd of; and did not the *Angrians* so much interrupt their Commerce, it wou'd be the richest City of *India*; as it is the most convenient for Shipping and Landing all sorts of Merchandize. The City is scituate by the side of a pleasant River, which falls into the *Indian* Sea over a Bar: This River is Navigable for Ships of large Burthen, where they have the benefit of Building and Repairing Ships with the same convenience as we have in *England*. The *Moors* build very compleat Ships; which the Princes of *Arabia* frequently purchase.

THERE is a very strong Castle here, into which they never suffer any Stranger to enter; for if any *French*, *Dutch*, *English*, *Portuguese*, or any whatsoever presume to enter the same, they are never suffered to come out again, or ever heard of any more; they say, indeed, they never put them to Death, but allow them the Liberty of the Place, there being large Places for Recreation therein, with fine Fountains beautifully contriv'd, also the Lodgings of *Aurengzeb*, and the Seraglio for

his Ladies. On the Castle-Walls they mount above 100 large Cannon, it is moated all round, and has but one Place of Entrance, which is over a Draw-Bridge, through a large pair of Stone Gates, clamped together with Bars of Iron. If ever *Angria* was to conquer the Town, he could never take the Castle, or reside within the reach of the Guns, they being of a great Length ; they have also several Mortars. Their Magazines and Store-Houses are very large ; they say, that there are Stores of all sorts of Provisions and Necessaries for some Years.

THE *Mogul*'s Mint is kept in this Castle, and all Foreign Gold and Silver is brought hither, and coin'd for the Benefit of the Merchants, who pay very little for the coinage of either Gold or Silver. Here they kept Sir *John Gore* [1] near 21 Years a Prisoner, till he got his Liberty by a Stratagem ; for which reason, few *Englishmen* of Note will ever go a-shore at *Surat*. They gave Governor *Boone* several Invitations to come on shore there, but he did not care to venture out of his Ship, but gave magnificent Entertainments on board for the Merchants. The *Moors* shewed a great deal of Affection for him, and were daily waiting on him with Presents of value ; but his Honour knew how Affairs were between *Rustram* and the Broker too well, to trust to their pretended Kindness : for had they got him on Shore, probably they would not have suffer'd him to come off again till such time as he had pay'd every Farthing of the Demands they had on the Company.

AS we have spoke something relating to the Scituation and Trade of the City, we will now speak of the Trade and Commerce brought down to the Place from the adjacent Countries. The best Commodities of the Empire being brought down to *Surat*, are there dispos'd of by Merchants that deal very largely. By sending to any of these Merchants, and telling them you want such and such a Quantity of particular Goods ; you may have your Goods brought Home to your own Houses, open'd and repack'd before your Face, to see that all Things agree with the Sample ; and if you dislike any thing, it is exchanged without demur ; they are so expert in their way of

[1] Sir John Gayer was imprisoned at Surat from 1701 to 1710 (about half the period here stated).

Trade, that they seldom admit any thing to be pack'd up worse than the Sample. They have here great plenty of Diamonds, rich Velvets, Atlasses, Taffaties, *Persia* Silks, Cottons, Stripe'd Dimities flower'd with Gold, *&c.* The Merchants usually wear some of these for Apparel, taking great delight in adorning themselves with rich and fine Cloathing.

IN peaceable Times, here is the greatest plenty of all sorts of Roots, as Carrots, Turnips, green Peas and Beans, though a very small sort: They have also great variety of most sorts of Fruit. The Merchants are generous in their way of Trade, and they are allow'd a Draw-back on several sorts of Goods.

THE *Angrians* sent a Party to take two large Yards where they used to build their Ships, but they found only two old Ships, that lay by the Walls past repairing: these Ships they burnt, with no manner of Conduct; for had they set them on fire about two or three Hours before High-Water, they probably wou'd have drove up the River, and set some of the Shipping on fire that lay under the Cannon of the Castle; but setting them on fire at half Ebb, they burnt where they lay, without any further Mischief: However, many of the Ships that lay below the Town, being by this means alarmed, were brought up the River under the Cannon of the Castle, for their better security: After the *Angrians* had done this, they retired.

WE were now ordered to draw off our Forces, and make the best of our Way towards *Cambay*, where we had at *Chimnaw* a very smart Skirmish with the *Culeys*, who for several Days ply'd us with showers of Arrows, which did some execution; so that our *Annabob* was forc'd to make use of our Cannon: To this purpose we brought six Pieces to play among them, which made such a Slaughter, that they quickly dispersed, and rather than comply to pay Tribute, they left their Town and fled. This Town we burnt, after having pillaged it of every thing valuable; we also fill'd up all their Wells, and did all the Damage possible to their Grounds, which they generally keep in good order, and are the chief Support of the Cotton Manufacture. But these People are of that obstinate Disposition, that they will not pay Tribute, nor be in any Subjection.

FROM *Chimnaw* we marched towards *Cambay*, where the

Culeys are very numerous ; here they made a stout Resistance : But our *Annabob* was resolved not to shew them any Favour ; on which account, he brought all his Elephants a-breast, and armed them with Chains on their Trunks, and drove them amongst the *Culeys.* The Elephants laid about them with their Chains, and firing from our Platforms, whilst others of our Soldiers discharged their Arrows among them, vast Numbers were crush'd under Foot in a terrible manner. Our *Annabob* prevailing, put Men, Women, and Children to the Sword, and plunder'd the Town ; after which, we continued here for near a Month, every Day digging under the Foundations of their Houses, and searching very strictly for their Money ; they having a Custom amongst them to bury their Money. We also search'd their Ponds, and dragg'd them ; also sent Men to dive all over them, by which means we found several large Chests of Treasure, which paid our *Annabob* well for his Trouble. Here we stock'd our selves well with all sorts of Grain, which caused great Plenty in the Camp. We also took great Store of their Cattle, and sent them down to *Surat*, where they were directly sold. After their Granaries and Storehouses were emptied, and all Things brought out of the Town, which was very large, well peopled, and of great Trade, our *Annabob* came to see the Town set on fire and laid in ashes. It continued burning near two Days, when all the Place was intirely consumed.[1] These *Culeys* rob in Parties on the High-way, so that they are great Interrupters to such fair dealing People as travel from Town to Town for the Benefit of marketting with their Effects, as they hear how the Markets rise and fall. Now these travelling Merchants are generally *Banyans*, a People that will not molest the greatest Enemy in Life, neither will they be concern'd in War ; they never eat any Thing which ever had Life or Blood ; the chief of their Food being all sorts of Herbs, Roots, Rice and Fruits. If they swarm with Vermin, they

[1] Downing gives no clue to the identification of this place ; but the *Bombay Gazetteer* (vol. i, pt. i, p. 303) says that 'tribute was exacted from the chiefs on the banks of the Vātrak, and from Modhera an unruly Koli village was burned down and garrisons were placed in the Koli country'.

will take them off, and throw them from them, but will not kill them. They worship a Cow, Ox, or Calf, to which they pay great Adoration. They believe the Transmigration of Souls: They are very covetous, and will travel some score of Miles, and not lay out a Piece in Refreshment for themselves, living on what they carry with them. Their travelling Food they provide in this Method; they know how far they have to travel, and how many Days they shall be on the Road: They provide Food for their Cattle as well as themselves. They never dress any Thing but where they have Time to consecrate a Place of Worship for themselves, where they set up a God of Clay or the like, who is to be a Guardian for them during the Time of their praying to the Calf or Cow, or whatever they are Masters of, in that kind. At this time they boil great Quantities of Rice, and lay it Corn by Corn between two Boards; they press it flat, and then dry it in the Sun, which is then like Wafer. Of Rice prepared in this Method they carry a great deal; when they are hungry, they take a Pan, and mix it up with Water and Sugar, and eat as Opportunity serves, during the Time of their travelling. These poor inoffensive People pay great Tribute to the *Mogul*, for the Liberty of Trade. For their further Security they go in great Bodies, sometimes two or three Hundred in a Company, where they think their appearing so numerous may frighten the *Culeys*. But the *Culeys* soon prove too strong for them, and frequently put them all to the Sword, and seize all their Merchandize. Thus they rob a poor inoffensive People, and spare none, provided they think they can overpower them. The *Dutch* Scaffolds have been beset by them, and found a difficult Matter to come off without the Loss of one or two Waggon Loads: So that the *Culeys* are, in some respects, as bad as the *Angrians*, and frequently find Employment for the *Mogul's* Army, who pursue them from Place to Place, but can never entirely suppress them. These are the People which the northern Parts of the *Mogul's* Dominions are over-run with; they will venture in the Night to come about the Camp, and take Opportunities of stealing something of considerable Value; but they often come short home, for the *Catwalls* of the *Mogul's* Government keep such a good Look-

out for them all Night, that they often come up with them, cut off their Heads, and leave them for the Crows to devour them, for they never stay to dig a Hole to put them in.

FROM the Place I have been last speaking of, we came towards the Back of *Cambay*, and marched towards *Carmenay*, where we surpriz'd several more of the *Culeys*; for during the whole March, I think we had not above four Towns that paid their Tributes, which Towns we left standing; tho' they were very insolent, and threatned very much what they would do to the *Annabob*, if ever they could over-power him. We made no great Stay amongst them, having got into the very Heart of their Country; for if once they take on them to attack an Army, they never give over till they kill or be killed. The chief of their Weapons are Bows and Arrows, and Sword and Target; tho' some of them exercise the Lance. They have very fine Horses amongst them, which they will sell very cheap, as also any other Things that they have, when they pay their Tribute. They are very politick and sly; they never make any manner of Resistance without they think themselves sure of gaining the Victory, for they will sooner run away than stay to be taken; well knowing the Fate they suffer when they fall under the Power of the *Annabob*'s Soldiers, and in particular the *Arabs*, who make great Havock amongst them. They are a People of a comely Stature, clean-limb'd, of great Swiftness of Foot, and very ingenious in their Way; their chief Delight and Care is breeding up Cattle, keeping great Flocks, and manuring their Grounds. They are a very industrious People, and would soon be rich, were they to be brought under a regular Government by the *Mogul*. But being so much addicted to Theft and Rebellion, were they not to keep a strict Hand over them, they would soon over-run the *Mogul*'s Empire, and destroy all his Dominions. They have neither Kings nor Princes amongst them, for they will not condescend to be under any manner of Subjection; they will never allow any one of them to take a particular Prerogative over the rest. When they rise in great Bodies, they seldom are under any Command, which makes them less powerful. There is a Party of them who inhabit more to the Eastward, that appoint Governors, and

erect Laws amongst themselves ; but those to the Northward of *Cambay*, will not come under any manner of Subjection : They do as they please in all Things ; they worship Idols of Brass and Stone, the Highways being filled with all manner of Images, which the *Mahometans* pull down and demolish ; and the *Culeys* repair when they return again.

WHEN the *Mogul*'s Army makes any Demand of them, provided they are willing to pay the Tribute, they will come and meet the *Annabob* a Day's March before he comes near the Town, to know what he demands ; and then they leave two or three of the richest of them as Hostages, when they are sure the Inhabitants have sufficient already raised for the Payment of the tributary Demands. They seldom prove false to one another ; whenever they come to treat with the *Annabob*, he is always sure of his Demands ; tho' sometimes they will plead Poverty, and pretend they have had a bad Time ; and then the *Annabob* readily makes some Abatements. 'Tis surprizing to me, that they do not extirpate these People, which I think might be done. But if they pay their tributary Demands, they never molest them, and suffer them to steal and plunder the travelling People as much as they think proper.

TO return from this Digression : We were with the *Annabob* all this while rambling about the Country, and driving all before us, till the Season of the Year was arrived for our Return to *Guzurat*, where we used to reside generally about the Month of *May*, and lay in close Quarters. During our stay at *Guzurat*, we had the Benefit of recreating our selves in the Gardens, and the constant Conversation of the *Dutch* Gentlemen in their Factory ; they would be always doing us some good Offices, especially if any of us were out of order, and generally entertain'd us in a very handsome manner. The Gentleman that was with me here, in the Post of Ingineer, was Mr. *Nathanael Webb* of *Southampton*, who had been brought up to the Law, and had run through a plentiful Estate in *England* of 800 *l. per Annum*. He left *England* with us in the *Salisbury*, and was a Man of excellent Parts. At our first arrival at *Bombay*, Captain *Cockburn* discharg'd him ; but he happening to light of a Friend there by mere chance, was

made a Factor [1] by the Governour and Council; and while we proceeded on our Course in search of the Pirates, his Friend died, and he was accused by some Person unknown, to the Governour and Council of a Mistake in his Accounts. For which reason, without giving him time to correct the Error, he was dismissed the Service; though he honourably clear'd himself afterwards, and was offer'd the same Post again; but refused it. He went to *Surat* with us in the *Salisbury*, and some time after, at my return to *Surat*, I met with him again, when he inform'd me of his Circumstances, and how things were with him. There was also Captain *Lynes*,[2] who has already been spoken of; he being at that time under the same Misfortunes as my self, and had been taken by the *Sangarens*, join'd Company with us, in order to travel from *Surat* to *Bengal*; there being so great Apprehensions of *Angria*, that the Merchants were afraid to send their Ships to any part of the Coast: so that business being very dead, we design'd to take the before mention'd Journey; which proved very difficult, the *Angrians* being distributed all over the Country; and between *Surat* and *Broach* we were oblig'd to lie conceal'd two or three days, as mention'd before.

Captain *Lynes* and my self, after we took on in the *Annabob*'s Service, very often differ'd in our opinions, which made a great uneasiness between us. He was very much opinionated, but knew very little of the Business he had undertaken: this contradicting way of Proceeding could never do with me; for all that ever knew me, I hope, will allow me qualified for the Business I undertook. Mr. *Webb* observing the turbulent Disposition of this Gentleman, and being a Lover of Quietness, would daily try to make things easy between us; but all in vain. He at last refused to eat with us, and would go and buy his own Provision: accordingly Mr. *Webb* and myself let him take his own way; which caused him to leave us at *Guzurat*, after we came from the Expedition against the *Culeys*. He pretended he would go to *Surat*; it being now the best time

[1] On 23 January 1722. His dismissal was notified to the Company in a letter of 29 January 1723. Webb's name appears in the pay book of the *Salisbury* as having joined on 2 January 1721, as an able seaman, and as having left at Bombay, 16 October 1721, 'on preferment'.

[2] Called 'Lyon' on p. 153.

for travelling. To this end, he took his leave of us, and set forward. Just as he got out of *Broderah*, having join'd the *Dutch* Scaffolds, the *Angrians* were very near seizing of him. For he, with the *Dutch* Gentlemen, was obliged to return to *Broderah*, and there to continue all the time of the Rains ; to avoid falling into the hands of *Angria*'s Forces. I found him at *Broach* with the *Dutch*, who supported him for a considerable time. I left him among them ; he told me that he would go to *Batavia*, but how or which way he went, I cannot say. He said, when he came to *Batavia* he would get a Passage to *Bengall*, he being married to a Serjeant's Daughter at *Anjango*.

This he chose, being tired, as he said, with being obliged to travel about from place to place in a sultry Climate ; tho' I must say, that I lik'd the way of living so well, that I would actually chuse to be with them again, rather than be imposed on, as I have been in some other Service. It has been my chief Care at all times to do my Duty to my Country ; tho' I have never had what properly belong'd to me, but others have been paid for what I have done. I shall say very little in the Affair, but shall only mention some voluntary Pieces of Service I have done in behalf of the Hon. Company : I was at the two Sieges of *Carwar*, at the Attack on *Kemshew*, at the Sieges of *Kennery*, and of *Gerey*, at the Expedition against the *Portuguese*, and at the great Siege of *Allabeg* ; I was also at the taking of the *Decoy* Grab : all which I can prove to be fact, and bring some Persons, now in *London*, to confirm the same. Accordingly, I have reason to hope, that those Gentlemen, who have it in their power to reward any Services done them in the *East-Indies*, will not be altogether unmindful of me *.

To return to *Guzurat* ; some time after Captain *Lynes* left us, Mr. *Webb* was taken sick, and died ; during the Time of his Illness, the *Dutch* Gentlemen daily visited him, and sent him every thing convenient for one in his Condition. The Doctor was continually visiting him, and prescrib'd such Medicines as he thought most convenient : And the *Dutch* Gentlemen exceeded their usual Hospitality : And I must say, that I never receiv'd more Civility from any Gentlemen. We

* N. B. *The Author is now employ'd in a very reputable Post, in the last Ships sent to the* East-Indies, 1736.

always lodg'd our Money in their Hands, and they prov'd very faithful Bankers. Mr. *Webb* died in about a week's time after his being taken ill, and was interr'd in the *Dutch* Burying-Ground. I was now left alone, to undergo the fatigue of looking after the Cannon. But the *Dutch* Gentlemen alleviated this Situation by their frequent Invitations to ride with them; so that I did not want for Recreation, and I eat and slept more at the *Dutch* Factory than I did at my own House, and was always welcome.

One Day, as I had been at Dinner with the *Dutch* Gentlemen, and coming home, I perceiv'd several Christian Men just arrived in Town, and being desirous to see who they were, I found three *Portuguese*, and two *Dutchmen*; one of the *Portuguese*, as he call'd himself, was *Anthony Jones*,[1] who gave me the Account I have inserted concerning *Plantain*, and that he had made his Escape from the Pyrates, and had been down at *Bengall*, and was there married and settled; and as the Wars were still troublesome, they join'd Company with each other and came up to *Guzurat*, in order to proceed for *Dilley*, and take on in the *Mogul*'s Service. But the *Zamelock* still continued his Rebellion, and was resolved to depose the *Mogul* if possible. Whereupon, Orders were sent for the *Annabob* to engage as many *English*, and other Christians as possibly he could light of, and not to spare for Wages, which should be paid them very exactly according to their Agreement. On this Encouragement, many *Englishmen*, who were out of Employment, and would not go down to *Bombay*, since Governor *Boone* had left the Island, enter'd into the *Mogul*'s Service, and went away for *Dilley*; tho' many of them would rather have tarried at *Guzurat*, for they did not approve of the Fatigue of travelling. 'Tis very customary amongst the *English* in those Parts, to despise any Person that accepts of serving the *Mogul*, tho' at the same time a Man may lie out of Business, and spend all his Substance in waiting for Employment.

As for my Part, were I as young as I was then, I do not doubt but my Curiosity might lead me again to inspect more narrowly into the Customs and Manners of the *East-Indians*,

[1] See p. 111, where this man is called Anthony de Silvestro. Downing has previously referred to these ex-pirates (p. 121).

than I have yet done ; tho' my Accounts are as exact and true as my Situation would admit of. In the History I have given, I have borrow'd nothing from any former Authors : But my Observations are chiefly taken from what I have been an Eye and Ear-witness to. I have felt the Smart and Fatigue of Engagements, Hurries in Marches, excessive Pains and Weariness in travelling, to satisfy my own Curiosity ; and now with Pleasure deliver the same to the Curious, for their Entertainment.

The Rainy Season being over about the end of *July*, the first New Moon in *August* is observed by the *Moors* [1] as a grand Festival for the Return of fair Weather ; and tho' the Rainy Season is as certain every Year as Winter and Summer, yet the *Indian* Bramins flatter the People with Notions that they shall never have any more foul Weather. Our Army having perform'd the Ceremonies and Festival, we receiv'd Orders from the Grand *Mogul* to begin our March ; which proved very bad, by the heavy Rains that fell after we were on the March ; and we were obliged to endure the same, and not return to *Guzurat*. For tho' they account the first New Moon in *August* to be the time when the Rains usually cease, it was this Year the latter end of *September* before the Weather quite alter'd. In the Month of *November* the *Northern* Winds begin to blow, and refine the Air ; we have then fine wholesome and good Weather, with delightful Breezes. In this Uncertainty of Weather we were oblig'd to encamp many Days ; tho' our Army had excellent Covers with their Tents, which are well contrived to keep out Rain, and seldom or ever are blown down. I have lain near a Fortnight in the Camp in my own Tent, and it has rain'd for the most part of the time, when we have not had a Drop of Water come into the Tent Day or Night. We once were oblig'd to pitch our Tents in a great Hurry, as we came near to a large Town belonging to the *Culeys* ; and our *Annabob* was resolved to have the Tribute demanded before we left the Place. The Camp was partly pitch'd in a Bottom ; and the Rains were so very violent one Night, that many of the Tents were set on float, and the Tent-Pegs, which were drove in the Ground, were broke up by the Water washing the Sand and Earth away. The Wind at the

[1] Apparently a mistake for Hindus.

same time was very tempestuous; and in the Morning the Place was like a little Sea full of Wrecks, the Tent-Polls and other Materials being drove to and fro by the Storm. This was the most severe Night I ever felt during my abode amongst them; however, it was the last of all the bad Weather, for we had no more Rain that Season. The Weather also confined the *Culeys* from attempting to do us any Mischief in the Night, as they commonly endeavour, if they find any proper Opportunity; tho' many times they lose their own Lives in such Enterprizes. I generally was with the Artillery, the most secure Part of the Camp; for when these *Culeys* offer to disturb our Camp, they never presume to come near the Artillery, the Sight of the great Guns being a terrour to them.

So soon as the Weather permitted, the whole Camp was re-pitch'd on the Brow of a large Hill, and the Cannons placed in regular Form against the *Culeys* Town; who seem'd to demur to the paying the Tribute demanded. We had with us the aforesaid *Anthony Jones* and one of the *Dutchmen*; who gave me great Uneasiness. They were angry because they were not look'd on by the *Annabob* as I was, and said they deserv'd more Respect. 'Tis true, they knew how to fire the Artillery, but had little Skill as Engineers; tho' they seem'd to believe that their Judgment was as good as that of others. The *Annabob* sent for me over Night, and order'd me to use the best of my Skill to batter the *Culeys* Town down about their ears, and to keep a continual fire. Early the next Morning we all three went to work, soon demolish'd Part of their Town, and beat down their famous Temple, wherein was their great Idol *Hoydos*,[1] whom the *Culeys* for Hundreds of Miles came to worship. Such Execution being done amongst them, they were observ'd by their Motions, to fly towards the *Northern* Part of the City, where there was a Gate, at which they intended to escape, and fly to the Mountains for refuge, as many of them did. My Reader may easily imagine how ignorant they were, when some Hundreds of them would get on the tops of their Houses to see the Guns fired, and at the same time making little Opposition to our Attack. I am well assur'd, that there were on the Cupola of the Temple above an hundred

[1] Not identified.

Men, who were destroy'd by our Shot, and buried in the Rubbish. Notwithstanding this, several still kept on the top of their Houses. Sometimes indeed they would send a smart Shower of Arrows towards us, but to no Effect. The Town was now almost ruin'd, and it was too late for them to capitulate; for the *Annabobs* will never admit of a Treaty after they have begun their Siege; but pursue their Resentment with Fire and Sword. The *Culeys* were now quitting the Town in numbers, and flying to the Mountains; which our *Anndbob* perceiving, as he sate on his Elephant, he order'd the *Arabs* to march directly to the *North* Gate, to stop their Proceeding. The Wall was very lofty on the Backside of the Town, and the Army having no Notion of Scaling-Ladders, the *Annabob* sent for me, and ask'd me how the Army should get into the Place. I told him we would soon make a Breach sufficient for the Forces to enter the Town. He ask'd me if the Shot would not be detrimental to the *Arabs*, who were gone to the *North* Gate. I told him no; for that the Wall would sufficiently stop the Balls from doing any farther Mischief. We then brought all our Cannon in a Line, as near to each other as conveniently could be; and kept a continual fire for the space of two or three Hours; in which time, a large Part of the Wall was beat down; insomuch, that the *Annabob*, the head Officers, and Part of the Army march'd their Elephants a-breast into the Town, over the Breach which we had made in the Wall. The *Annabob* acknowledg'd, he now saw the greatest Piece of Execution perform'd by his Cannon, in the least time, that ever he saw in his Life; on which account, he should always value the *English* in his Service. After all was over, he sent for me and the other two, and made each of us a considerable Present. This pleased Mr. *Anthony Jones* and the others; and encouraged them very much. There was a sad Slaughter amongst the poor *Culeys*, by the *Arabs*; for they fought Sword in Hand above two Hours, endeavouring to force their way out of the *North* Gate: and the rest of our Army coming up, fell on their Rear, and cut them off in great numbers, and very few escap'd.

At this Place, which was not a hundred Miles from *Guzurat*, situated near the Mountains, the *Annabob* got more Plunder

than what he had for a considerable time before: So that the Riches taken out of the Temple of the great Idol *Hoydos*, and the Treasure found in the Town amounted to upwards of 60,000*l.* Sterling; two thirds of which was sent to the *Mogul*, to confirm the Importance of this Conquest. Besides this, a great deal of Treasure and things of value were found in the Temple where the famous Idol was placed. The Height of this Idol was near twelve Feet, with Arms and other Limbs in proportion: He had his Head ornamented with Rays cast in Silver, and set all round with Jewels; but was pretty much batter'd with the Rubbish that fell into the Temple, when the Cupola was beat down. There were placed about him near a hundred small brass Images, ornamented with Jewels, *&c.*

We lay here near three Weeks after we had demolish'd the Town, and pull'd down all the Places of Idol-Worship round the Country: We also made great Search in the Mountains for those who got away; but all to no purpose. Before we left the Place, we burnt the Remains of the Town, and demolish'd every part thereof; and then made the best of our way for *Guzurat*, having sent before all the Treasure, which was secured in our *Annabob*'s Treasury. In the mean time, we had an Account of *Shohomet*'s marching after the *Angrians*; he having lately got about forty *Englishmen* into his Service, who were well acquainted with the Management of the Artillery. *Shohomet*'s Army had march'd a considerable Way in the *Sedey*'s Country without Opposition. After long Expectation, they heard of *Angria*'s Army, who were at a small distance from them. Whereupon the *Annabob* gave Orders to march towards them, and came in sight of them in about twelve hours. The *Angrians*, on the *Annabob*'s approach, seem'd by their Motions as if they would avoid an Engagement; on which, the Cannon began to play furiously on them, and they retreated towards the Mountains with Precipitation, where it was too dangerous to pursue them. The *Angrians* in a little time march'd between the Mountains to the *Northward*, and appear'd near the River which passes by *Broach*. The *Annabob* soon had an Account of this; so leaving a considerable Party to guard the Highways for the Security of Trade, he march'd towards *Broach* with the Army.

The *Angrian* Army attempting to pass the River, met with a warm Reception; for the *Dutch* had assisted the *Moors* with a long Range of good Guns, planted on the opposite side of the River, where they judged the Enemy would endeavour to ford over. This Platform of Cannon, as well as the Men to fire them, was conceal'd by great heaps of Leaves thrown up before them: When Part of the *Angrians* were got about half way over, the Platform was uncover'd, and the Cannon discharg'd as fast as possible; which kill'd great Numbers of them. In this Confusion, several endeavour'd to return back, but were drove down by the Current; so that hardly any escaped of those who had taken the River. The rest of the *Angrians*, on the other side the River, retired towards the Mountains again; but our Army arriving during this Confusion, made a great Slaughter of them in their flight. After this. *Shohomet* encamp'd near the Banks of the River for some time.

After we had remain'd a little while at *Guzurat*, we had Orders to march; and in a few Days arrived near a large Town, where we had a very great Demand on the *Culeys*. But here their Deputies met the *Annabob*, fell at the Feet of his Elephant, and declared they were ready to pay their Tribute. These Deputies staid all Night with the *Annabob*; and early the next Morning the Tribute was brought from the Town, and paid to the *Divan*, who is the Person appointed to receive and disburse all Money. After we had remain'd hereabouts some Days, we march'd back to *Guzurat*.

I shall just mention the Barbarity of these *Culeys* to Captain *Sedgwick* of *Bombay*, who had been an old Servant to the Company, and Master-Attendant for them many Years, a Person much esteem'd by Governor *Boone*, and most of the Gentlemen belonging to the Island: After he resign'd the place of Master-Attendant, he accepted of being Captain of the Company's Yatch which used the *Surat* and *Cambay* Trade; and going from *Surat* to *Cambay*, there not being Water sufficient for the Vessel to go over the Bar, they moor'd her at *Chimnaw*, about thirty Miles distant from *Cambay*, where Captain *Sedgwick* took his own Boat, in order to go up to the *English* Factory at *Cambay*; Mr. *Whittle* being then lately

establish'd Chief for the Company there:[1] But the Tide not flowing so long as they expected, they lost their Passage, and were obliged to let go their Grappling, in order to lie till the next Flood. The Place where the Boat lay at the ebbing away of the Tide was dry, which when the *Culeys* perceiv'd, they judged there was Treasure in the Boat; wherefore a great Number of them came down, in order to seize the Treasure, if not to murder him. But he seeing so great a Number of them, and thinking that by firing a Musket or two, they might be scared away, fired accordingly. But they were not so soon frightned, for when they perceived his Men to fire at them, they came on in a great Body, and soon cut him to pieces, and the few Men he had with him; taking what Treasure was in the Boat, and so made off. From thence they went down to the Yatch, and would have boarded them, but they kept them off with their great Guns. Tho' Captain *Herring* was pleased to tell me, that if Captain *Sedgwick* had not fired upon them, they would not have concern'd themselves with him. Had the Captain but laid the Boat out in the Mid-Channel about half a Cable's Length further, he might soon have got from them; for they could not have run after the Boat when under sail, and a strong Tide to help them away: For this Place is flat a long way on both Sides, and you must wade through the Mud for near three quarters of a Mile, at low Water, before you come to the Channel.

When we lay in the same Place, and I was Captain *Herring*'s Lieutenant, Captain *Dogget* in the *Hunter-Galley* was with us; for we never had any single Vessel sent up from Bombay after this Accident, but always two together. If we did not happen to go just at the Height of the Spring-Tides, we could not get over the Bar, the Channel being so very difficult. Captain *Dogget* and Captain *Herring* went up in our Galleywat, which

[1] Charles Whitehill took charge at Cambay on 5 October 1722; and a Bombay letter of 19 August 1722, without mentioning Sedgwick, stated that Capt. Bellew had lately been made Master Attendant. These facts serve to date the episode, no account of which has been found in the records.

Whitehill was the father of John Whitehill, who twice acted as Governor of Madras, and of a daughter Judith, who, by her marriage with May Sclater, became the mother of the well-known Eliza Draper.

was allow'd us as a Tender. We lay here near a Fortnight before they return'd, and all the while kept a good Look-out; and tho' all the Country round was inhabited by the *Culeys*, we every day diverted ourselves with playing at Cricket,[1] and other Exercises, which they would come and be Spectators of. But we never ventur'd to recreate ourselves in this Method, without having Arms for ourselves, and guarded by some of our Soldiers, lest the Country should come down upon us. Several times, four or five of the Heads of the Town came down on Horseback, with great Attendance: They had two Men generally running at their Horse's Heads, with bamboo Lances of a great length; and one or two a little before them, with their Swords and Targets.

When we found that they never offer'd to disturb us, Lieutenant *Stevens* and Lieutenant *Radbone* sent to me, and ask'd if I would venture with them to take a Walk to a Town about two or three Miles off. They proposed to go well arm'd; and accordingly we all went. Captain *Dogget* had on board about forty of the *London* People, that were sent to supply the Loss we sustain'd at the Siege of *Allabeg*, besides *Topasses* and *Lascars*; but we had only two white Men on board beside myself. We arm'd most of Captain *Dogget*'s Men, and fasten'd a Jack on a Half-Pike, which one of them carried as our Colours. Each of us had a Blunderbuss, and a Pair of Pistols in our Belts: Early in the Morning we went up to the Town. Our Provisions being short, we hoped to get a couple of Bullocks, some Sheep, Fowls, and Bread, from the Town. So soon as they perceiv'd we were coming, one of the Heads of the Town came out on Horse-back, and demanded our Business. We had with us two of our *Lascars* that could talk the *Culey* Tongue; and the Chief demanding our Business, we told him we came in Friendship to buy some Provisions, if they would let us have any. He ask'd what sort we wanted. We told him, a couple of Bullocks, some Fowls, a Sheep or two, or any thing else they could spare, or willingly sell us. We shew'd him Money, and told him, that if he was not willing we should come

[1] As the late Mr. J. S. Cotton pointed out, in a letter printed in *The Athenaeum*, 27 May 1905, this is the earliest known reference to cricket being played in India. The date was probably 1721 (see the introduction).

into the Town, we would tarry where we were, and let him send us such things as were worth our Money, which we would pay for. He said, if we behaved ourselves civilly, we should have what we wanted, and should be welcome to come into the Town. We consulted whether it was proper for us all to go into the Place ; but, as we had shelter to keep us from the Sun, we thought it more advisable to continue under the Shade of the Trees : So that if any foul play should be design'd us, we were not willing to be incumber'd in a Town.

However, we no ways perceiv'd that any Treachery was meant against us, till towards the time of our coming away ; when we observ'd several People, who had been before to view us, appear'd afterwards in an armed Posture, tho' they brought the Bullocks, and we paid them what they demanded, which was twenty Rupees *per* Head ; we bought also two Sheep for two Rupees a head, and a dozen of Fowls.

During the time we were trafficking, they were very alert, flourishing their Swords, and making Motions as if cutting off Heads. Our *Lascar*, or Interpreter, told us they were hatching of Mischief against us, in order to pick a Quarrel ; and desired us to make the best of our Way for our Vessels. We took his Advice, and made what haste we could down to the Galley, and carried with us what we had paid for. When we were coming away, there being a great Number of Peacocks in a large Tamarind-Tree just by, (which Peacocks are very plenty in this Country) Lieutenant *Rathbone* ask'd if they were wild or tame, and whether he might shoot one or two ? They told him they were wild, and that any body might take what they could of them ; not thinking, as we supposed, that we should presume to shoot at them. However, Lieutenant *Rathbone* shot, and kill'd three at once ; for I believe there were near twenty in two Trees adjoining. They neither seem'd much pleased nor displeased at this ; but bid us take them with us. We also got about 100 Weight of Flower of them, and some Butter. We then set out on our Return to our Vessels, having sent four Men with the two Bullocks, two Sheep, and the Fowls, a considerable while before us. We kept our Colours flying all the time that we were there ; and tho' the Inhabitants seem'd but few in number, yet they were of a bold and undaunted

Spirit; and 'tis probable, that had we not stay'd out of the Town, they would not have been so civil to us as they proved.

While we lay in our Vessels, two Countrymen who were at plow in a Field near us, brought down a fine Antilope they had just catch'd; but how they caught it, I cannot say; for it was at full Growth, and as fine a one as ever I saw in my Life. I gave them two Rupees for it, for which they seem'd very thankful, and went away well contented.

We lay here about a Fortnight, when Captain *Herring* went down for *Surat* in one of the *Cambay* Hoys, and left me to follow Captain *Dogget* with the Yatch. We got safe down to *Surat* in a short time, where we heard that the City was besieged by the *Angrians* and *Sedeys*, vulgarly call'd *Gonims*; but that the City was in a good posture of Defence, and very little Mischief done by the Besiegers, who soon after raised the *Siege*.[1]

To return from this long Digression. I came back with our *Annabob* to *Guzurat*, and we made another successful Expedition, destroying two Towns belonging to the *Culeys*; and then return'd to a Camp near *Guzurat* with the Army. Finding our *Annabob* had no Design to go soon for *Dilley*, I desired leave to quit the *Mogul*'s Service, which was granted. The *Annabob* gave me several Marks of Respect, and thank'd me for my Services in his Army. I order'd my Servant, who had formerly belong'd to a *Dutch* Merchant, and had been very faithful to me, to convey my Baggage out of the Camp, and bring it to me at the *Dutch* Factory; where it was secured till my going down to *Surat*. I was not determin'd whether to go down to *Cambay*, or to return to *Surat*. Therefore during my stay at *Guzurat*, I wrote to Mr. *Whittle* at *Cambay*, requesting the Favour of him to let me know if any *English* Vessel was there, belonging to *Bombay*. Whether the Letter miscarried or no, I cannot say, but I receiv'd no answer to it.

The Country being pretty quiet at this time, I resolv'd to set out for *Surat* with the first Scaffolds of Merchants; and

[1] This seems to belong to November 1723, when Surat was threatened by the Marāthas, who encamped within three leagues of it (*Bombay Consultations*). If so, Downing has again mixed up his recollections.

provided my self accordingly. I got a Suit of *Moors* Apparel; and it being the Fashion of the Country to wear Whiskers, I had got a large Pair almost up to my Ears. I order'd my Man to hire a Coach to carry me for *Broderah*, where I could take a fresh Stage for *Broach*, and then the like for *Surat*. I agreed with the Man for eight Rupees to go three Days Journey for *Broderah*, he being to pay all the Expences on the Road, and to feed his Cattle, *&c*. So that my Charge for my three Days Journey was very reasonable.

I set out the latter end of *November*, and join'd a large Train of Coaches and Waggons, well loaded with all sorts of Merchandize. I had pretty well feather'd my Nest during my stay in the *Mogul*'s Service, and the *Dutch* Gentlemen offer'd to give me Bills for my Money to be paid at *Surat*; but I well knowing how things had been, was not willing to trust to their Bills, but thought it more proper to take all my Cash with me; there being no Account of any Disturbances on the Roads. Our first Day's Journey was from *Guzurat* to *Hugely-Scare*,[1] where we were entertain'd in the *Surcars*, and the Cattle all provided for. My Coachman was a very obliging Man, and served me very well. There were two or three *Armenian* Merchants that were travelling to *Surat*; they had near forty Waggons loaded with rich Merchandize: Being Christians, I took the Opportunity of joining with them, for the sake of their Conversation, and dining in Company. Our first Day's Journey was pretty long; but we got in early in the Evening. We were alarm'd with a Noise of some of the *Culey* Party coming, on which Account we drove very hard all Day, and scarce stopt to give our Oxen a Bate: But it proved a false Alarm.

Early the next Morning we set out for *Noss*, and that was a longer Day's Journey than the Day before; so that we were very much fatigued with travelling; we did not stop all Day, only to give the Cattle Water about Noon, and a Mouthfull of Sugar-cane, which grows wild there, but never comes to Perfection. Early in the Evening we got into

[1] By 'Scare' is doubtless meant *sarāi* (see p. 139). The first stage of the journey was probably to Nariād, and 'Hugely' must be intended for the name of a *sarāi* there.

Noss,[1] a great Stage, where all Scaffolds and Merchants stop. The inhabitants are *Culeys*, but have never been known to behave rudely to Travellers.

The next Morning, so soon as Day-light appear'd, we all ferried over the River *Noss* ;[2] and the way leading between two Hills of a considerable Height, in a very narrow Lane there met us a flying Party of the *Angrians*, about forty in number, who began to rummage amongst the foremost Merchants, and took some Money from several of them ; but seeing no End of the Scaffold, they soon made off, and went towards the Mountains, judging that there was a Guard in the Rear. I would have fired my Pistols amongst them, but the *Armenians* begged of me not to do it ; for they said if I did, and should but draw Blood of one of them, they would certainly get a Reinforcement, and return ; and then put all to the Sword.

In the Afternoon we got to *Broderah*, where we continued three or four days ; it being a pleasant and delightful City, and a Place of great Trade. There are here very fine Gardens, pleasant Fountains, and great Variety of Entertainments to divert you ; so that we recreated and refresh'd our selves, till we thought fit to set out for *Broach*, which is two Days Journey from *Broderah*. We halted the first Day at a small *Culey* Village, that lay in the high Road for *Broach* ; here we rested but very indifferently that Night. As the Country was still, the People were manuring the Ground, planting and transplanting their Cotton-Trees, and watering their Grounds from Sun-rising to Sun-set.

Early in the Morning we set out for *Broach*, where we arriv'd the next Day. I went to the *Dutch* Factory, where I was very handsomely entertain'd ; and here I found Captain *Lynes* who pretended a great deal of Joy for my Welfare, and professed a great Concern for the Death of Mr. *Webb*. I tarried here four Days, and was handsomely entertain'd by the *Dutch* Governors ; and the Gentlemen who were come down from *Guzurat*, treated me with great Civility. At my first Arrival, the Chief of the Factory and his Lady were gone for the Benefit of the Air into the Gardens, and Captain *Lynes* with them. This Gentleman, who was next in Command to the Chief,

[1] Apparently Wasād. [2] The Mahi.

told me, that Captain *Lynes* was much in favour with the Governour, and that he learn'd him to play on the Flute; that he was also much respected by the Gentlemen of the Place. So soon as the Chief came home, he was inform'd of my Arrival there; he sent Captain *Lynes* to desire me to sup with him. Accordingly I paid my Respects to him, and after Supper we diverted ourselves till towards Midnight.

It was on the *Saturday* Night I arrived there; the *Sunday* they kept very strict, employing themselves in singing of Psalms, reading in Publick, and the like. They desired me to join with them in their Worship, which, in Duty to God for his many Mercies, I readily did. The next Day we were very merry and diverting; and on the *Wednesday* following, I took my Leave of them. When I got on the other Side the River of *Broach*, there were many and various Reports concerning the *Angrians*, though we saw nothing of them all the way; for at *Concass* we halted again, to let the Oxen drink; and that Night reach'd within twelve Hours of *Surat*, and there rested.

The next Morning we set out; and in the way met a Party of *Shohomet*'s Army of near 400. At first sight we were much surprized, and did suppose that they were the *Angrians*. They had been to guard a small Quantity of Money to the *Divan* of a little Town belonging to the *Moors*, lying near the River-side. They let us know, that the *Annabob* was close at their Heels, in order to be reveng'd on the *Angrians*, on account of *Susurrah*, whom they still kept torturing in a cruel Manner. About Noon we arrived at *Surat*, where I was gladly receiv'd by my Acquaintance, and Friends. I went and paid my Respects to the worshipful Mr. *John Hope*, who was then Chief at *Surat*, who seem'd well satisfied at my Return from the *Moors* Service, and told me at present there was no Business stirring; but so soon as there was, he would find me Employment. I return'd him my Thanks, and waited on him several times after.

When I formerly went from *Surat*, I left a large portmanteau Trunk full of Clothes there; which I now found safe, and not the least Thing missing. I went to my old House of Entertainment, where I was made welcome; and continued there till I got into Business, at very little Expences. Mr. *Matthew*

Waldron was Master of this House; he had two beautiful Daughters, both married to Men of good Fortunes. I had now a particular Correspondence with the Doctor of the Factory, who came to visit me every Evening, and told me how things had been represented, on my taking on in the *Moors* Service. I told him, as I was a free Man, I had liberty to serve them that paid best, and that it was Curiosity led me to see the Country, *&c.* He constantly shew'd me a great deal of Friendship, with Sincerity and Good-nature. I always paid the Governour the utmost Respect, and he frequently enquired after my Health. He enquired also after the Death of Mr. *Webb*; and told me, he was sorry that such Men as he and I should take a Ramble in those strange and remote Parts of the World. I must confess the Gentleman seem'd much my Friend, in advising me never to attempt the like again; for he said, it was sufficient for Men to be frolicksome once in their Life-time. I here got the Account of the preceeding Wars at *Bombay*, and *Angria*'s further Progress, which I have mention'd.

I continued here above a Week, and then resolv'd to come for *England*; which I did in the *King George*, Captain *John Houghton*; with whom I acted as fourth Mate. When I left *India*, the Company had near thirty Ships of War and Galleys in their Service, of different Force; which were sufficient to have destroy'd *Angria*'s Naval Power, could they come to a fair Engagement. But his Advantage lies in laying hold of Opportunities to attack our Ships with superior Force, and then retiring to his Ports; where 'tis difficult to attack him with success.

I have been in seven Engagements against *Angria*, and never receiv'd a Wound (thanks be to God;) tho' I have, as before related, had sixteen Men kill'd in the Boat I had the Direction of, at the Siege of one of his Castles.

Since my Arrival in *England*, there have been Accounts of *Angria*'s taking several of the *East-India* Company's Ships; and that he goes on to strengthen himself, and seems to bid defiance to all our Attempts to suppress him, as they have hitherto been unsuccessful: occasion'd either by the Cowardice, ill Conduct, or Treachery of some of those employ'd. But were

our Naval and Land-Forces in those Parts put under proper Discipline, and commanded by Officers well acquainted with the Coasts of *India* ; Men of Courage, Conduct, and Fidelity ; I doubt not but in a short time he might be disabled from doing us any more Mischief, and an entire stop put to his Pyracies.

I shall not mention any thing here of my own Behaviour ; there are living Witnesses of that : I am waiting for an Opportunity to be employ'd in the *India* Company's Service, who, I am inform'd, are making Preparations to suppress this powerful Robber ; which that they may effectually do, is the hearty Desire, of their most obedient humble Servant,

CLEMENT DOWNING.

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